Outlaw
St. LOUIS

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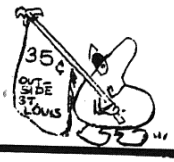
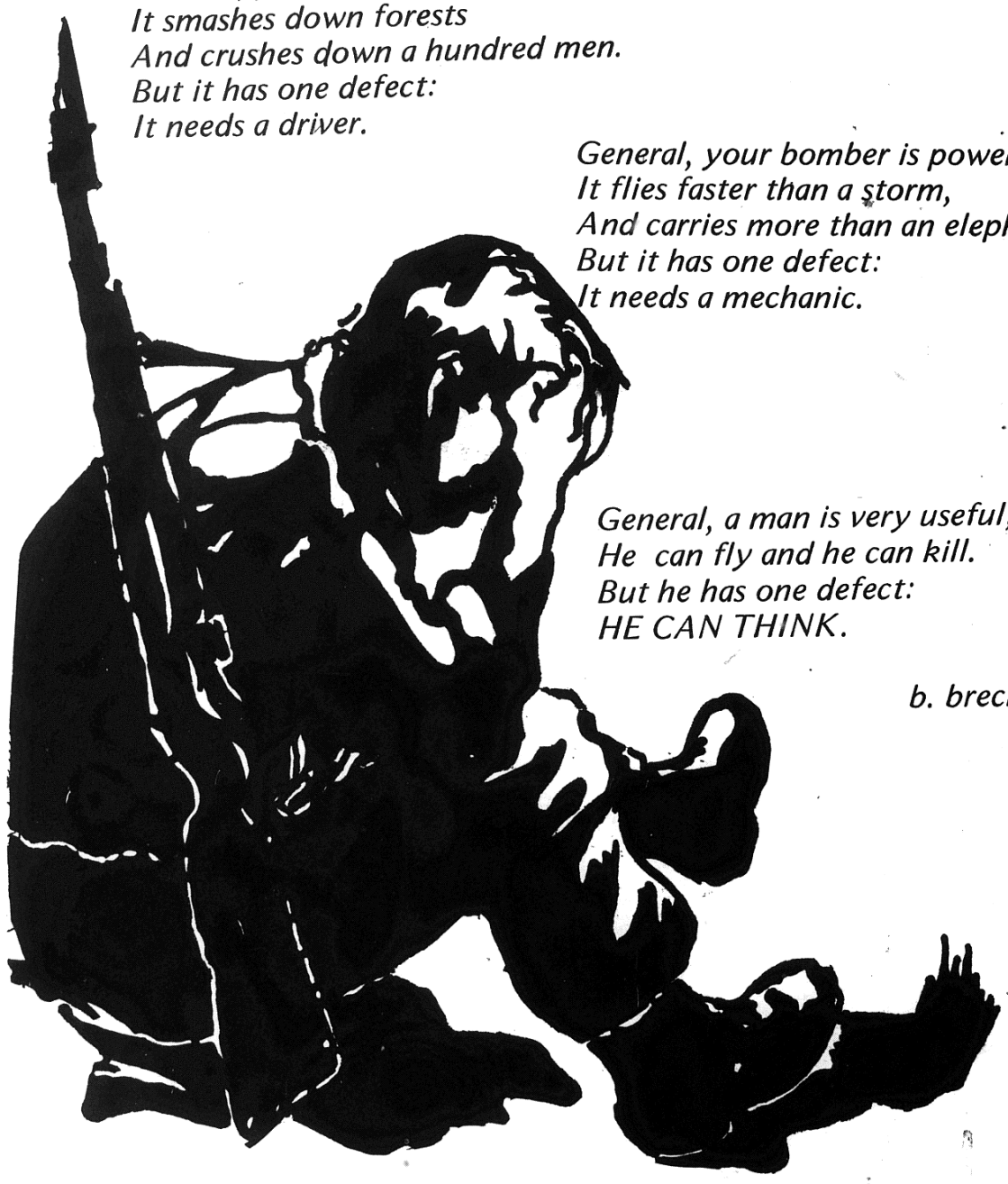


General, your tank is a mighty vehicle
It smashes down forests
And crushes down a hundred men.
But it has one defect:
It needs a driver.

General, your bomber is powerful
It flies faster than a storm,
And carries more than an elephant.
But it has one defect:
It needs a mechanic.



General, a man is very useful;
He can fly and he can kill.
But he has one defect:
HE CAN THINK.

b. brecht

GI'S, VETS MOBILIZE IN FOREST PARK

GRANITE CITY FREAK RIOT

WE ARE EVERYWHERE

At least 30 people were busted and seven others injured recently in Granite City, Illinois. The busts resulted from several clashes between freaks on one side, and police and jocks on the other. Several incidents prior to the May 16th mass arrest of 27 persons appeared to be the final straw on the backs of the freaks in the area.

On Friday, May 14, there were reports of disturbances at local drive-ins. Local peace officers were called in. The "disturbances" involved another outbreak in that community between the long-hairs and jocks. When the cops arrived, reports say that they took the side of the jocks and busted several long-hairs on charges of disorderly conduct. None of the jocks was arrested.

A group then marched to the City Hall, tore down the Granite City flag and burned it. On Saturday, much the same scene was repeated with disturbances at several drive-ins. A freak was jailed after being jumped by a local jock. Following this, there was a spontaneous demonstration and people filled the front of City Hall and demanded his release. The cops refused, but later released him after the large group sat on the steps of the police station. Over the weekend several harassment arrests were made. Some women who were just walking down the street were busted for prostitution. One guy was busted for "illegal headgear" (wearing a headband).

Monday, a small group of persons gathered at Nameoki Village shopping center, and soon their numbers grew to about a hundred or more. All during the night the police and vigilante groups had been active picking off freaks, beating and arresting them (the straight press even reported that the police chief, Ronald Veizer, was aided by explorer scouts armed with clubs). As the group headed toward nearby Wilson Park, they spontaneously decided to go to City Hall where the city council was reportedly discussing an ordinance concerning freaks congregating at drive-in restaurants. The demonstrators surrounded the building, shouting and blocking the sidewalks. A traffic jam was created by curious passing motorists. The police acted typically. Five law enforcement districts were called in.

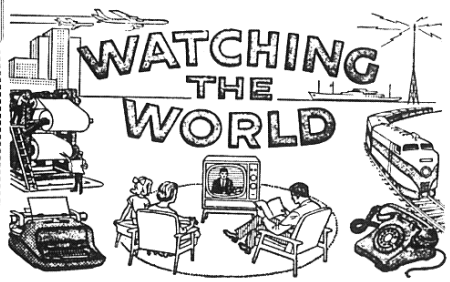
The chief, Ronald Veizer, showed his unconcern for the young people by stating: " Who knows what they were doing other than just agitating. They say that nobody likes them. Twenty-seven persons were arrested, miraculously it seems, as the police stated that they used "no force." One boy with two broken arms in casts was beaten, and a first hand witness reported indiscriminate beating and assaults on persons trying to get pictures of the police. A couple of freaks did fight back and one squad car got trashed.

Tuesday evening a group gathered in the park but there were no incidents. Persons at the park claim that was because the press was there.

The freaks, who are still into being law abiding and peaceful, have instituted a lawsuit to stop the harassment.

These incidents are a natural outgrowth of the situation in which young people, and especially freaks, have been denied a place to gather. Anti-loitering laws keep people off the streets, the park closes early, and the drive-ins are unwilling to accomodate crowds of young people. A local hangout, the Beneath Society, was shut down by police harassment. There's nowhere to go. The ongoing fights between long-hairs and jocks are used by the cops to keep the kids down. This time the cops sided with the jocks. But what happens when the jocks step out of line?

At SIU Carbondale, Ralph Tyler Smith has been nominated for the position of chancellor. During his campaign last November as a Law 'n Order candidate his TV personality revealed that "thru me the silent majority speaks." He was defeated by a vast majority. Students have threatened to close down the school if his name is not taken off the list. The people have spoken.



With the W-4—E federal income tax form handed to your employer, no tax moneys will be removed from your paycheck. Keep the governments hands off your money for their war. To qualify for the W-4-E, one must have earned less than $2000 the previous year. Pick 'em up at the Post Office.

lettuce boycott

Salad freaks and supporters of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers' boycott of non-union iceberg lettuce can both celebrate the surprising successes the lettuce boycott has been scoring in the St. Louis area during the past month. Union-harvested lettuce (which is free from dangerous pesticides and is much healthier for the consumer than scab lettuce) has been appearing with some degree of regularity in Schnucks and Bettendorf stores; and IGA, National, and A&P have all been buying small quantities. Even Krogers bought 800 boxes in late April. But the boycott continues against all non-union iceberg lettuce, and shoppers are asked to talk to their produce managers and ask them to carry only the union-harvested brands. "Please insist on seeing the "Farmworkers, AFL-CIO" union label and thunderbird stamped on the packing carton before buying any iceberg lettuce," stated Harriet Teller, one of the coordinators for the lettuce boycott in St. Louis.

(Clip and hand this to your store manager when you shop)

Dear Sir,

I support the right of farm workers to have decent wages and working conditions and a union contract. I support the lettuce pickers in their strike and boycott of non-union lettuce growers.

I urge you to ask your produce buyers to buy only "Farm--workers, AFL-CIO" union harvested lettuce. I don't want my shopping dollars going to support anti-union lettuce growers. And I am willing to shop at another store if you continue to buy scab (non-union) lettuce.

About 100 supporters of the farm workers turned out for a rally on May 1 at the Washington U. Quadrangle, where the Women's Liberation Guerrilla Theater performed a skit showing the abuses suffered by farm worker women and how the women fought back. Sister Anna Barbara Brady of Webster College, who recently returned from the People's Peace Delegation to Paris, and Joe Suarez, president of the Emerson Electric workers and a member of the State AFL-CIO Executive Board also spoke about the need to build unity among workers, students, and sympathetic middle class liberals to put meaningful power behind the farmworkers' movement.

Following the rally, about 50 supporters marched through University City to the supermarket chain complex at Olive & Midland, where the marchers confronted the store managers of Krogers, National, and A&P with the demand that they stop buying scab ettuce. Groups with flags, banners and picket signs invaded the stores and leafleted inside as well as outside, asking customers not to buy scab lettuce.

The lettuce boycott has received the formal backing of the St. Louis AFL-CIO Labor Council, the Inter Church Association (the major Protestant Churches) and the Cardinal's Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Church. "But endorsements are kind of meaningless until we can transform them into consumer pressure on big buyers of lettuce like the chain stores," stated Teller.

Meanwhile, in California the nationwide pressure of the boycott brought another lettuce grower to the bargaining table with UFWOC. Mel Finerman, a little "family farmer" who employs 5000 workers to harvest his lettuce, and ships between 150 and 160 million heads of lettuce a year, signed a contract on April 23. More growers are expected to sign shortly. However, spokesmen for the major anti-union agribusiness corporations denounced Finerman and stated they "are not going to knuckle under no matter what Chavez does."

see related story on page 14

THERE

Last December 3rd, Lloyd Dangerfield was acquitted of a charge of first degree murder. We just found out about the story, but the information is still important because it's an illustration of what continues to happen to black and poor people at the hands of the legal system.

February 1st, 1970, Ronald Jackson was shot to death at his home at 4461 Delmar. The first people questioned by the police were friends of Jackson's who indicated that the night before Jackson had been in a fight involving knifes and guns at the Southern Kitchen restaurant. The police called in the men with whom Jackson had had the fight. They admitted the fight and said that the next day they had obtained guns from a friend named Stanley and had gone with Stanley and his friend, Lloyd Dangerfield, to the house of one of the men's aunt, who lived below Jackson, and stood guard for further trouble. They said, however, that Lloyd had night guard and that he had shot Jackson. Stanley was called in and admitted supplying guns, but also said that Lloyd had done the shooting.

Lloyd had been in town two weeks and was staying with Stanley—whom he had met in the Army. He did not know Ronald Jackson and the first time he met the others was when they came to Stanley's for the guns. Lloyd told police that he went to 4461 Delmar but saw no one bring the guns from the car to the house. Lloyd also told police that there was no guard duty—and that he had fallen asleep in a chair.

On the basis of this questioning Lloyd was arrested and booked on charges of first degree murder.

Lloyd was not given a preliminary hearing to determine whether or not there was enough evidence to hold him. The DA did, however, provide plenty of evidence that he was interested only in an effortless conviction and not in justice or in Lloyd Dangerfield. Lloyd's case was sent through a grand jury—at which the defendant does not appear and is not represented. Lloyd's attorney told us that the question of whether or not Lloyd was guilty was "very poorly investigated by the state." It definitely seems that an elementary investigation would have shown that Lloyd had no record. It would also have shown that he had no motive for the killing. He was not involved in the fight the night before, and didn't know the men who were involved.

SIU-E white panther party

The White Panther Party has been around SIU-Edwardsville for a couple of years now. Last Sunday they put on a five hour free rock concert for the people of the East Side with Dogebo, Globe Theatre and the Black Zone. Next week next to parking lot number nine on the campus, Phoenix and other groups will play. Thanks to the bands who play music for the people and don't try to rip us off.

Another important activity of the WPP is the Legal Self Defense Fund. Money has been raised from dances on the SIU-E campus. Half of the $1 admission went to the bands and half to the fund. Persons busted for speed and smack are not allowed to use the fund because such drugs are not life-forces in the revolutionary community. For those brothers and sisters who are ready to put their time and energy into the work necessary to maintain the fund, there are meetings held every Saturday at 2:00 PM on the 2nd floor of SIU's University Center.

The third issue of *Either-Or*, their street sheet has come out this spring after hassles from the university administration. This edition was a "censored" one. The WPP hopes that with a little help from their friends they can get a mimeograph machine to put out an uncensored version of the paper as well as leaflets and pamphlets.

Contact:

White Panther Party
Student Activities Box 93
SIU-Edwardsville, Ill. 62025

leaden death

The problem of Lead poisoning is not new to St. Louis. For years young children have been known to eat chips of lead-based paint or plaster in old, deteriorating housing. Once the lead is in the child's system he may suffer from anything like nausea and irritability to brain damage, mental retardation and even death. The problem in this city, as in most urban centers of this country, is primarily seen in both poor black and white neighborhoods where the housing is oldest and often in the worst shape.

Since last summer the problem has received a fair amount of attention. People have made public statements, decrying the problem and imploring "responsible" persons to move against it. Demonstrations have been held, rents have been witheld from landlords who refuse to improve their properties, and demands have beenplaced with thecity to act in its fullest capacity to meet the problem head on. And yet the problem is as bad as it ever was.

The city housing commissioner has been negligent in enforcing already existing housing ordinances (as weak as they are) which directly relate to the use of lead-based paint on walls. The health commissioner's office has failed to pull together any meaningful or workable comprehensive program that could test the city's 30,000 (low estimate) children between the ages of 1 and 6 who must be screened, and given further tests and treatment when necessary. The real estate board and private landlords have turned their back on the problem, and deny any responsibility by their refusal to repair housing they own. Private hospitals and clinics, for the most part, have turned a deaf ear to the medical problem by not using their resources to attack this potentially deadly disease. AND NOW, A CONFERENCE HAS BEEN CALLED.

As the *Outlaw* goes to press , a conference on lead poisoning is being held at the St. Louis Medical Society (Sat., May 22nd). The Department of Community Medicine of the St. Louis University School of Medicine has been the prime force in calling the conference. It is hoped by the organizers that the conference, after a day of discussions of the issues, will produce a fully comprehensive program to finally deal with the problem of lead-poisoning. Everyone from the Mayor, to parents of lead-poisoned kids, from the biggest of the slumlords to small home-owners, from the health commissioner to volunteers at community sponsored screening clinics has been invited to attend. What finally will emerge is yet to be seen. The question still not answered is how can a complete program possibly be put together by people with such different interests? It should be interesting to see.

For further information on lead poisoning in St. Louis, see *Outlaw Vol. 1, number 10, pages 10-11.*

AIN'T NO JUSTICE...

Yet he was charged with first degree murder on the word of men who were themselves suspects in the murder and who had admitted being in an armed battle with the victim and securing more arms for future encounters.

LLOYD DANGERFIELD

After the grand jury indictment was handed down, Lloyd was arraigned, which meant the judge asked Lloyd if he wanted to plead guilty and told him there would be no bail. Lloyd told the judge he was not guilty and was sent back to Central city jail to await trial. Lloyd did not receive his trial until December 3rd—he was in jail for ten months before the question of his guilt was considered by a jury.

After he had been in city jail 3 months, Lloyd went back to court. He did not see a judge, but was called in to see the DA, who asked Lloyd if he was crazy, presumably because he had expressed anxiety at being locked up for an indefinite period of time after having committed no crime. Lloyd said he wasn't crazy. But the DA told him he was going to be sent to a "nice place where everyone would be real kind."Lloyd was then sent to State Mental Hospital at Fulton.

At Fulton, Lloyd's treatment consisted of spending his days in a steel rocking chair. He saw a psychiatrist once a week, and was warned beforehand by guards not to make trouble and say anything was wrong. For prisoners who did not say everything was just fine, the doctor prescribed continual dosage of thorazine until a trance-like state was achieved. Except for visits from the psychiatrists once a week, Lloyd was at the mercy of the hospital guards, all of whom were white. Communication between inmates was against the rules and anyone caught talking for more than ten minutes was placed in solitary. Lloyd had a bad habit of talking to people and spent several weeks in solitary. Prisoners also have to ask the guards to get out of their chairs, even to go to the bathroom. And you have to ask politely and say please, may I—that's part of the therapy, especially for black patients who demanded human treatment. In one instance, a guard told Lloyd to put his chair in a corner and face the wall. Lloyd told the guard "No, you're gonna treat me like a human being!" The guard then told Lloyd he had a choice between a beating or an injection of thorazine. Lloyd had been beaten enough times so he took the thorazine. Lloyd received beatings often enough times, however, that his mother, who visited him frequently, noticed blood on his neck and swollen places on his face. She complained violently enough to get two state representatives to check out the situation. Lloyd was in solitary at the time and was taken out specifically to see the representatives and put back in as soon as they left. The representatives were satisfied and nothing was done. A few weeks later, however, Lloyd's mother was able to get him transferred back to jail.

Lloyd went to trial on December 3rd, 1970, ten months after he had been arrested. He was acquitted the first day of the trial. But that was not the end of Lloyd's trouble. Even with an acquittal, employers still consider a person with a first degree murder arrest very undesirable. Even Lloyd's previous employer, Illinois Bell Tel, refuses to rehire him. Although Lloyd was frankly told by a welfare worker that "you might as well forget about getting a job with that record" he also said Lloyd couldn't get welfare because he was fit to work, even though Lloyd was discharged from the Army for having bad nerves and being underweight. And due to the emotional brutalization he suffered during his ten month unjust imprisonment, Lloyd has to undergo treatment at Veterans's Administration Hospital.

Lloyd Dangerfield was acquitted, but he had already been given an incredibly harsh sentence.

GIs ON THE MOVE

The increasing radicalization of U.S. servicemen and their growing opposition to the war they're supposed to fight are major factors in the revised war plans of the Pentagon strategists. Newsweek's recent report on the "flakiness" of American soldiers contends that they lost interest in their mission because they were taken out of an active role in the war. I would contend that the reverse is true. American GIs were taken out of the war because the policy-makers could no longer consider them politically and militarily reliable. From the incidents of Hamburger Hill to widespread reports of "fragging" to the recent stories of 53 GIs refusing to advance near Laos, the evidence is strong that large numbers of American servicemen will no longer risk their lives in a cause they do not support.

The disintegration of the U.S. Armed Forces is occuring in many ways, not all of them as spectacular as a grenade in the CO's "hootch". As with the movement in general, the new consciousness in the military manifests itself to a large extent through cultural idioms. Most GIs these days are into rock and soul, long hair or afros, freaky clothes, beads, guitars, and dope. Indeed in many Southern towns (like El Paso) there are more freaks on post than in the local community.

Long hair and a mustache, granny glasses, the discreetly unkempt uniform, peace symbols on cars, the "peace sign" or power greeting -- these are the symbols of brotherhood within the ideal Police State of an Army Post. Nearly every serviceman in the U.S. Armed Forces uses drugs -- from the startling prevalence of hard drugs to the universal use of grass. In rejecting the brutality of military life, GIs are turning to the life style of the new culture.

Army journals have recently complained about the new attitude on most posts as a lowering of morale. I would say, however, that although GIs are less willing to perform military duties, morale in the Army is definitely at an all-time "high".

A more significant and dramatic expression of the seething rebellion in the Army is the high rate of AWOL and desertion. Ed Sherman's recent article in The Nation quoted the annual rate of runaways at 250,000 -- the equivalent of ten combat divisions. Nearly every underground community in America now has large numbers of AWOLs and deserters -- men who have made the total break with Amerika and its war culture.

A sure sign of the military's declining control over its manpower is the ridiculously light sentences meted out to most returning AWOLs. I've seen men return after three or four weeks and not even receive an Article 15. The stockades are already overcrowded with black and brown GIs (20,000 men now in military prisons), so most AWOLs get only token punishments.

Another major symptom of discontent in the Armed Forces is the radicalization of black servicemen. As in civilian life, black men in the Army are becoming more and more aware of the racist nature of Amerikan life and are coming together in black consciousness to demand the basic human freedoms for which they are supposedly fighting.

Last summer in Heidelberg, nearly 500 black GIs and hundreds of supporters met at a "Call for Justice" meeting and demanded an end to the war and racism. In January, 40 black GIs marched in downtown Saigon to commemorate the birth date of Martin Luther King, Jr. The increase in "racial incidents" in the services is not due to any mystical increase in racial prejudice among GIs, but to the dramatic increase in militant solidarity among black servicemen and the clash of this new grouping with the caste of Southern whites who control the military.

Perhaps the most important and fundamental evidence of the change in the Armed Forces comes in the increasing number of refusals to enter combat among GIs in Viet Nam. Although it has not yet reached the proportions of a mass mutiny, there is a growing trend among GIs in front line infantry and armor units to refuse to engage in dangerous duty. In addition, "fragging" and other attacks against overly zealous NCOs and officers in Viet Nam are being reported by network television.

Since 1968 servicemen at nearly every major U.S. military installation in the world have formed groups, published newspapers, demanded their basic human rights and worked to pressure the government to end the war. The GI movement has reached out to hundreds of thousands of servicemen and has helped to create the atmosphere in which GIs are beginning to take those individual acts which will end the war.

The first antiwar newspapers and organized groups of servicemen appeared in 1968, and in the next two years the movement grew with incredible speed. By 1970 groups of GIs had developed spontaneously at nearly every post in the U.S. Over 70 newspapers and as many as 20 GI coffeehouses were operating, with several groups also established overseas, mainly in Germany. Thousands of GIs signed antiwar petitions, participated in rallies and demanded that their activities be allowed on post. Every major antiwar rally was led by contingents of GIs.

Whereas in early 1968 GI resistance was confined to

the individual acts of a few brave men (like Andy Stapp, Howard Levy, etc.), in 1970 thousands of men at nearly every American military installation were speaking out against the war and organizing their brothers.

As with the rest of the American movement, GIs have expanded their perception of the causes of war and militarism and are beginning to see their activity in terms of a long-range revolutionary struggle to end the economic and social structures which permit war, racism, and poverty. An example of the broadening of GI perspective is the current effort to support the UFWOC by forcing the military to use only Union lettuce.

Nearly every GI newspaper has informed its readers of the farmworkers' boycott and urged them not to eat Bud Antle products. At Ft. Bragg, the Presidio, Selfridge AFB, San Diego Naval Base and many other bases, GIs are actively participating in the UFWOC's actions. At Ft. Lewis, GIs are forming picket lines, boycotting mess halls and presenting petitions to the base commander and to Senator Henry Jackson. The farmworkers' boycott is an example of GIs uniting with oppressed minorities to confront major war-related industry.

Another example of broadened perspective is the development of collective living and working arrangements. Here at Ft. Bliss we have organized a collective of active-duty GIs which is now the main center for antiwar work in the area. Other bases have also adopted this organizational approach. Thus, although the overall number of GI activists may not be increasing as rapidly as previously, the political and social perspective of GI organizers has matured greatly.

The need for greater civilian support of GI projects in the U.S. is critical, for there are certain basic obstacles to organizing on a military base which make the job of developing a group strong enough to seriously threaten the functioning of the military an extremely difficult task. The factors which I will describe are from my own experience here at Ft. Bliss, but I think that they apply generally to most large bases in the U.S.

The first major obstacle to GI work is living in a small, southern or rural, lifer town. From Fayetteville to Wrightstown to Killeen and El Paso, the political and social atmosphere of Army towns is stifling and rigid. It is exceedingly difficult to obtain basic services in towns that are totally controlled by the military.

Another more basic obstacle to what GI organizers are trying to do is the obvious problem of actually being in the service, of being part of a world you despise. After spending eight hours a day wasting time in the Army and being hassled by lifers, it's difficult physically and psychologically to be together enough to do the jobs necessary to keep a group functioning.

Another basic obstacle that GIs face in trying to organize is the totalitarian atmosphere of military posts. Distribution of literature on post is forbidden; CID agents and lifers are everywhere. Another problem for every group is the rapid rate of turnover among organizers. Especially after he becomes part of an antiwar organization, a GI can never be certain of how long he'll be able to stay in one place.

Thus an experienced cadre of organizers is hard to maintain. These are just some of the problems of

p.9

Vietnam Veterans Against the War and active-duty GIs in the St. Louis area will be staging a series of anti-war demonstrations here over the Memorial Day weekend. Contingents from Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas -- including GIs from Ft. Leonard Wood and Ft. Riley, Kansas -- are expected to participate in the mobilization.

An encampment will be set up at Washington University on Sunday, May 30, which will give anti-war Vets and GIs a chance to get together and meet each other, off base and away from the brass. There will be a potluck dinner Sunday evening at 6:00 in the southwest corner of Forest Park (bring your own food). On Monday morning there will be a guerrilla theater presentation in Forest Park, followed by a march to downtown St. Louis (about 11:00 or 11:30) and Memorial Services to honor those killed in the Indochina War, at Ely Smith Park, Broadway and Market streets, at 3:00 p.m.

Vets and GIs who want an opportunity to protest the war and the oppressive conditions of military life are strongly urged to attend. Civilians are also welcome. Active-duty GIs should be informed that Department of Defense directive 1336.25 states that military personnel have the legal right to attend a non-violent demonstration when off-duty and out of uniform.

Further information can be obtained by contacting the Peace Center, 6244 Delmar Ave. (phone 862-5735).

Organizing for the long haul

Tokyo (DNSI) -- Anti-military newspapers are cropping up on U.S. bases throughout the Pacific. Passionate, angry, and sometimes eloquent, the papers reflect a growing mood of militancy among politically disaffected U.S. soldiers.

All nine GI papers in Japan are written and edited by enlisted men. Because servicemen are liable to arrest for distributing unauthorized literature, Beheirin, Japan's large Vietnam Peace Committee, provides Japanese students to hand the papers out near U.S. bases.

One theme permeates all the underground anti-military papers: bitterness at the restrictions and harassment imposed upon enlisted men. Though some GI writers are youthful radicals, most are frustrated supporters of a new youth style. They fiercely resent regimentation, which they believe deprives men of self-integrity, and "Mickey Mouse" military regulations, which they believe treat grown adults like naughty children.

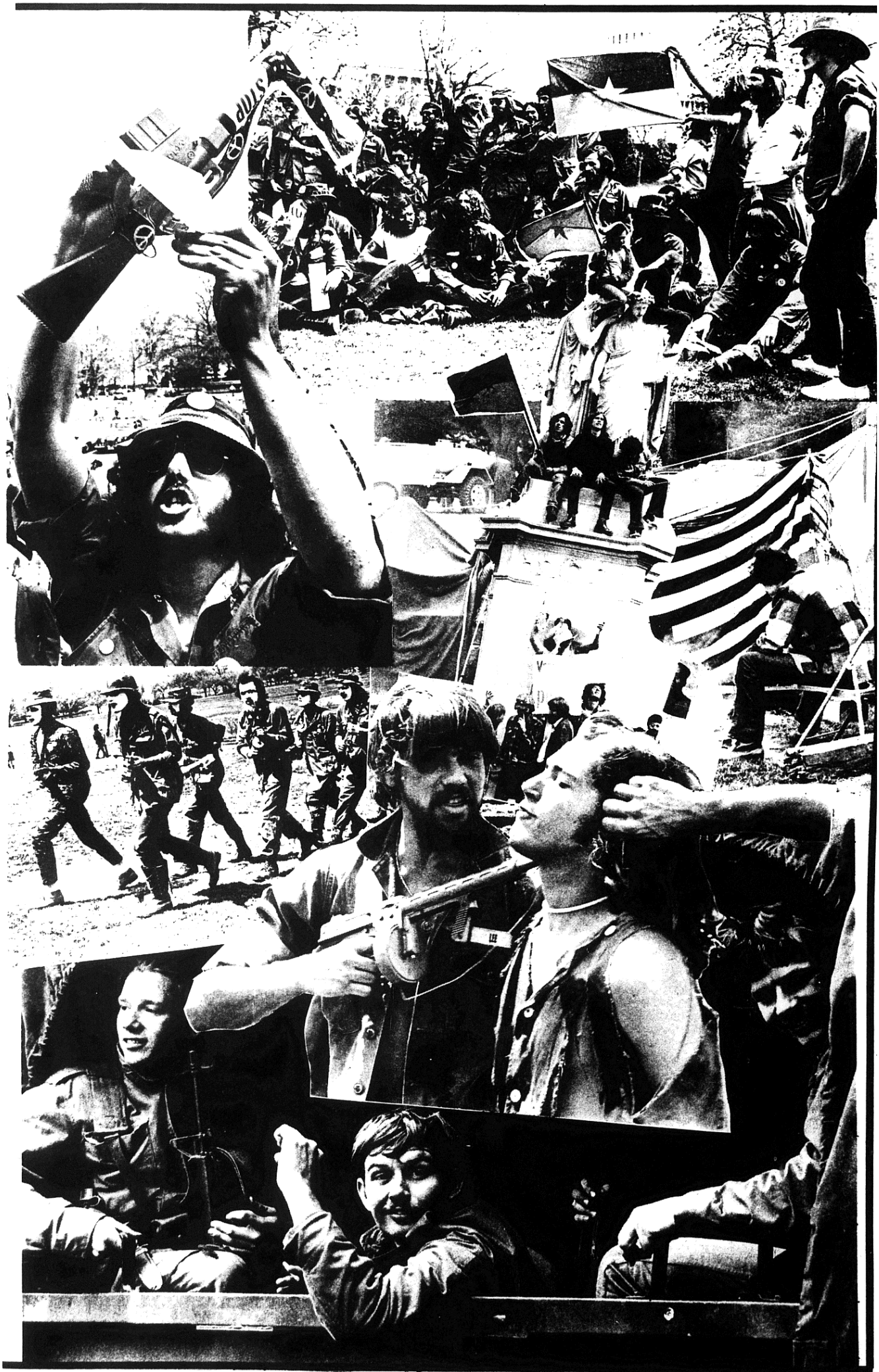
"Liberty is not a privilege", one marine wrote in Semper Fi, the anti-military newspaper at Iwakuni Marine base. "It is something the pigs owe us for busting our ass every day or for putting our life on the line protecting their interests. If I can spend 13 months of my life getting shot at, then my country can at least allow me to come in after 12:00. When was the last time you had to be in at 12:00, Colonel Van Campen?"

A marine at Yokosuka naval base near Tokyo wrote in Yokosuka David: "Maybe through a joint effort on the part of all us peons, someday we'll see where a general shines his own shoes and drives his own car."

Right On, put out by Camp Drake GIs, notes that "The MPs at Camp Drake and elsewhere seem to have some kind of inferiority complex that can only be overcome by coming down on someone's head with a night stick. Don't let them build up their egos at the expense of your head."

Letters to the editor complain of insults, beatings, unfair arrests and thefts by officers and MPs. Many of the GI editors are Vietnam veterans.

The GI papers are currently organizing for the long haul. "We've been giving those mothers in the brass the hard time they deserve," one GI editor said of the newspaper movement. "They still don't grasp the changes we're pushing, but they will. We're just beginning."



Protesters arrived home in St. Louis already making plans to answer the May Day Tribe's calls to go to Indianapolis to disrupt an international NATO conference (to be attended by Nixon) on May 26-28 and to return to D.C. for the next round of actions there on July 4.

ANALYSIS

MAY DAY ACTIONS

The anti-war movement came to life again with the May actions in Washington D.C. Even though the demonstrators didn't "stop the government," they disrupted official business enough to give people a sense of urgency about ending the war. Simply the fact that nearly 13,000 people were arrested and thousands more risked arrest seemed a tremendous means of arousing public sympathy and support.

D.C. residents and media, in fact, spoke of little else but the actions and U.S. war policy during the week of militant activities in Washington, and there were frequent expressions of support from the residents. Also, disruptive actions throughout the country followed the D.C. demonstrations.

Yet despite the general enthusiasm of demonstrators, many reactions to the Washington demonstrations were negative. Some scorned the tactics used, seeing them as a rehash of the sit-ins in the South 10-15 years ago. Others were critical of the use of national demonstrations and mass street actions in general, claiming such actions wouldn't bring an end to the war and were destructive to the long-range goal of building a broad-based movement.

These criticisms forced many of us in the movement to consider just how national actions do contribute to the growth of a radical movement and how these events in Washington are relevant to St. Louis.

The first thing that must be understood about the May Day actions is that they did **not** fail. Few people went to Washington actually believing that they were going to "stop the government"; what most of us hoped for – and I think accomplished – was that public urgency over the war be renewed and that greater pressure be put on Nixon to end the war.

One indication of success is the flurry of disruptive actions that followed May 3 and 4. Another is the renewed activity of anti-war liberals in Congress, especially the Dellums-Abzug resolution in the House. Also, May Day militancy added an air of respectability to more moderate anti-war activities, including the April 24 peace marches in D.C. and San Francisco. And perhaps the greatest indication of the success of such actions is the support given the demonstrations by national guardsmen and D.C. residents (especially black people), who had been exposed to numerous mass actions in the Capital in the past.

Any claims for success, however, must be tempered by an admission that the immediate tactic of using non-violent civil disobedience to stop traffic (and thus disrupt the operations of official Washington) failed. Part of this failure was due to the movement's naivete in thinking that the government would cooperate with the May Day actions. For example, most people blamed the breakdown in organization (on Sunday, May 2) on the government's last minute cancellation of the permit to camp at West Potomac Park – as if the government was going to provide a base camp from which disruptive actions against the Capital could be launched.

Similarly, many of us felt that non-violent tactics, such as sitting down on streets to block traffic, would be met with arrest without violence. D.C. police provided a rude awakening when they gassed and clubbed demonstrators or arrived on Vespas (motorscooters) not adverse to running someone over. This doesn't mean that police were violent or brutal indiscriminately – clubs, gas, dogs, mace, and Vespas were all part of a predetermined plan to use enough force to disperse crowds and isolate people into small groups where they were arrested.

D.C. police proved to be well-trained in riot control tactics and were extremely mobile (especially the Vespa squads). While most of us consulted with other members of our affinity groups for 2-3 minutes before moving anywhere, the cops operated on orders from a chain of command. As a result, our democratic decisions were often made obsolete by rapid police action. The tables were actually reversed, with the counter-insurgency forces being more mobile than the guerrillas.

None of us were versatile enough or together enough to come up with spontaneous tactics to combat police strategy. Such methods as erecting barricades, pouring oil in front of the Vespas, removing distributor caps of cars stopped at lights, staging fake minor accidents so as to leave cars blocking traffic, etc., were only used sporadically. By mid-morning on Monday we had been routed and more than 7000 had been arrested. Although the tactic of mass arrests didn't succeed in clogging up the

KIDNAPPED BY THE EMPIRE

May Day Week in DC
(Justice Dept March & Jail)

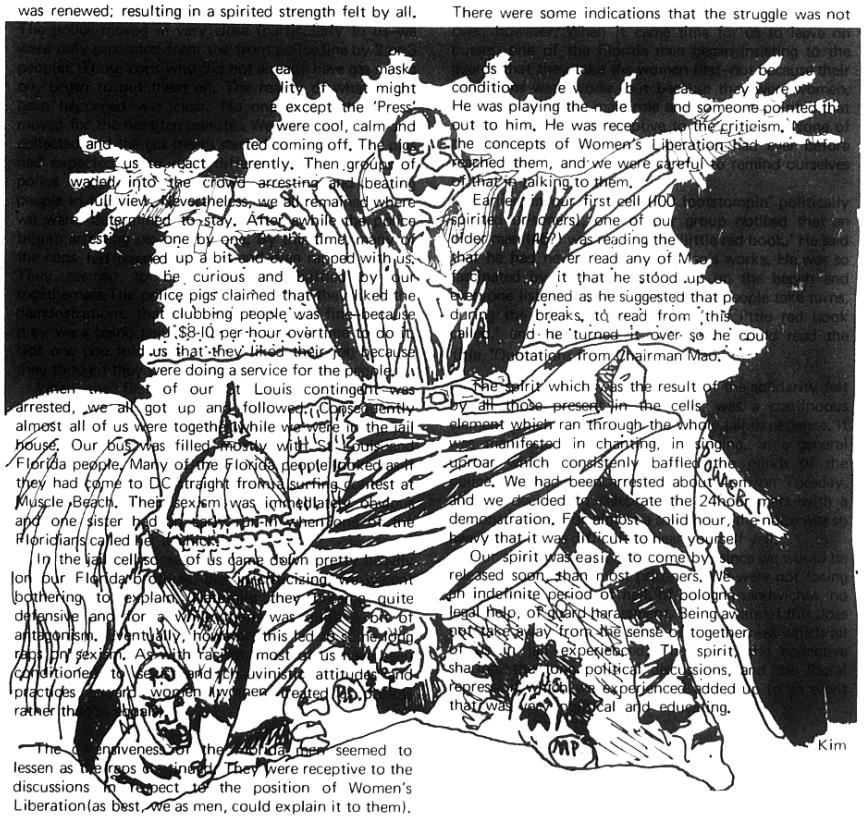
For one group of the brothers and sisters from St. Louis who went to DC for the May Day activities, the most meaningful part of our experience began with the march on the 'Justice' Department on Tuesday, May 4. Most of us arrived at the starting point together, a little before noon. As several brothers approached an intersection they ran into a police blockade. The cops told the people on the sidewalk to move. Our brothers didnt move fast enough for the cops and were grabbed and put under arrest. They were picked out of a crowd of people, most of whom were 'straight' looking onlookers.

Meanwhile, the march had begun in pockets of 25 to 30 people. The march had been planned so as to minimize the chances of the cops breaking it up– and in this respect it couldnt have been handled better.

The march itself covered about 20 blocks. We locked arms four abreast and chanted and sang most of the way. People watching seemed to be generally sympathetic to us. When we arrived at the Justice Department, there were already over a thousand people sitting on the steps and onto the street. People were still arriving an hour later. The 14 of us who made up our group sat on the wall and grass immediately in front of the Justice Department. The crowd was big, and we were far enough away that none of us were even aware that John Froines was being ripped off by the Feds as he spoke on the JD's steps.

Meanwhile the cops were massing at either end of the block, leaving no way out. The word came down that we had until 4:00 to disperse. At that time, the cops were going to 'clear the area.' Around 3:15 there was a roar from the crowd. A couple of us jumped up on the wall. Evidently the cops were impatient. To the left and right we could view a sea of white helmets and clubs moving in on us. It was a frightening moment that only previous demonstration experience could ease.

We realized that if we split up, we would be weak. Our strength lay in togetherness. Our group and others moved closer with the crowd, sitting down and preparing ourselves for what might lie ahead. Singing and chanting was renewed; resulting in a spirited strength felt by all.



The [illegible] of the Florida men seemed to lessen as the raps continued. They were receptive to the discussions in respect to the position of Women's Liberation(as best we as men, could explain it to them).

There were some indications that the struggle was not [illegible] condition[illegible] He was playing the [illegible] and someone pointed this out to him. He was receptive to the criticism. [illegible] the concepts of Women's Liberation had [illegible] reached them, and we were careful to remind ourselves of that in talking to them.

Earl[illegible] our first cell HQ[illegible] philosophy, politically [illegible] spirits. [illegible] one of our group noticed that an older [illegible] was reading the 'little red book.' He said that [illegible] never read any of Mao's works. He was so [illegible] it that he stood up on the bench and [illegible] listened as he suggested that people take turns, during breaks, to read from this little red book. [illegible] he turned it over so he could read the [illegible] quotations from Chairman Mao.

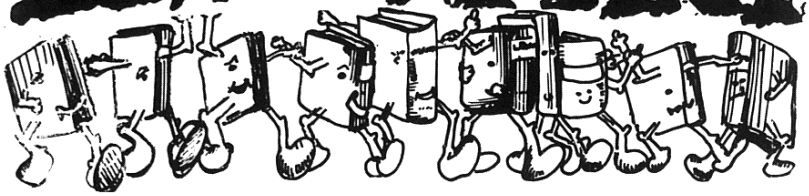
The spirit which was the result of [illegible] by all those present in the cells [illegible] continuous element which ran through the whole [illegible] was manifested in chanting, in singing [illegible] uproar which consistently baffled the [illegible] time. We had been arrested about [illegible] and we decided to celebrate the 24hour [illegible] demonstration. For [illegible] solid hour, [illegible] how that it was ridiculous to [illegible] yourself.

Our spirit was easier to come by, [illegible] released soon, than most [illegible] others. We [illegible] an indefinite period of [illegible] bologna, [illegible] legal help, of guard harassment. Being [illegible] not take away from the sense of togetherness [illegible] of the experiences. The spirit [illegible] shared in long political discussions, [illegible] repression, which experienced added up [illegible] that was very political and educating.

Kim

OUTLAW BOOK REVIEWS

Shit on the Shelves



All revolutionary groups are warned to avoid a publication called The Anarchists Cookbook by William Powell, published in New York by Lyle Stuart Inc.

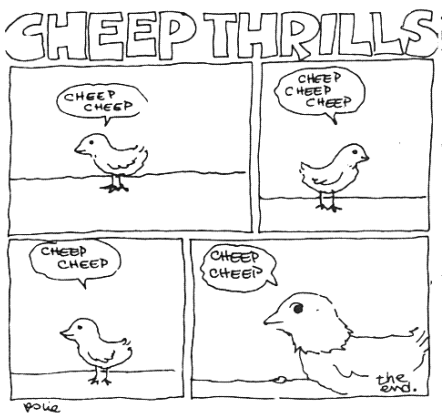
The so-called facts in this book are dangerous and untrue both in substance and in detail.

1. Particular reference is made to the section on p.111 titled 'Explosives and boobytraps.' The chief formula contained is a VERY loose description of the manufacture of nitroglycerin. These Instructions Are Not Complete. There are many effective, generally safe ways to make explosive compounds. None are described in this book. It contains only descriptions of dangerous and unstable compounds with the exception of a number of black powder formulas.

2. Particular reference is made to the section on weapons. Prices quoted and descriptions given are inaccurate. For example a carbine is listed at over one hundred dollars, the current rate is actually seventy dollars. The M-1 rifle is listed as having been used in both world wars and Korea--the M-1 was not developed until 1936, over 20 years after the beginning of WWI. The section also contains such meaningless statements as 'The M-1 and the carbine make a great team together.'

Viewed overall the book affects a spurious air of expertise which is not justified by its contents. Much better and more reliable information is available from various sources including the Panther Handbook (this probably refers to the rightwing Panter Publications in Boulder, Colo; they have good shit, even if they are on the wrong side--Tribe), the GCOM guides and manuals and other of a similar nature.

The Anarchists Cookbook is a ripoff. —*Berkeley Tribe*



Steal this Book (WITH CAUTION!)

Abbie Hoffman has a new book out called Steal This Book. It is a compendium of ways to rip-off the system, and generally pretty useful. Much of it was collected from the underground press and other sources by Izak Haber, who conceived the project. Abbie added some continuity and humor to Izak's research, and did a lot of re-writing, editing and checking.

Unfortunately, some of the things recommended in the book are downright dangerous and irresponsible. Take the scheme to ride buses and airlines for free. Some of these ways are guaranteed to get you caught, for example, sneaking on and assuming that they dont count.

Take the bomb diagrams, which have been floating around the underground press since at least 1967. A person I consulted with military demolition experience was highly skeptical of many of these diagrams. For example, the firecracker detonator for the pipe bomb. For all the risk you take in bombing, you deserve a decent detonator. A firecracker detonator is highly unreliable, and the one shown probably wont work at all. Certainly it has not been tested, and nobody should be running diagrams of bombs unless they're willing to test them.

Take the Sterno bomb. Unlikely to ignite, and capable of negligible effects if it does.

There are many other examples that could be cited. You'll be able to spot a lot of them yourself if your guard is up. Keep your guard up.

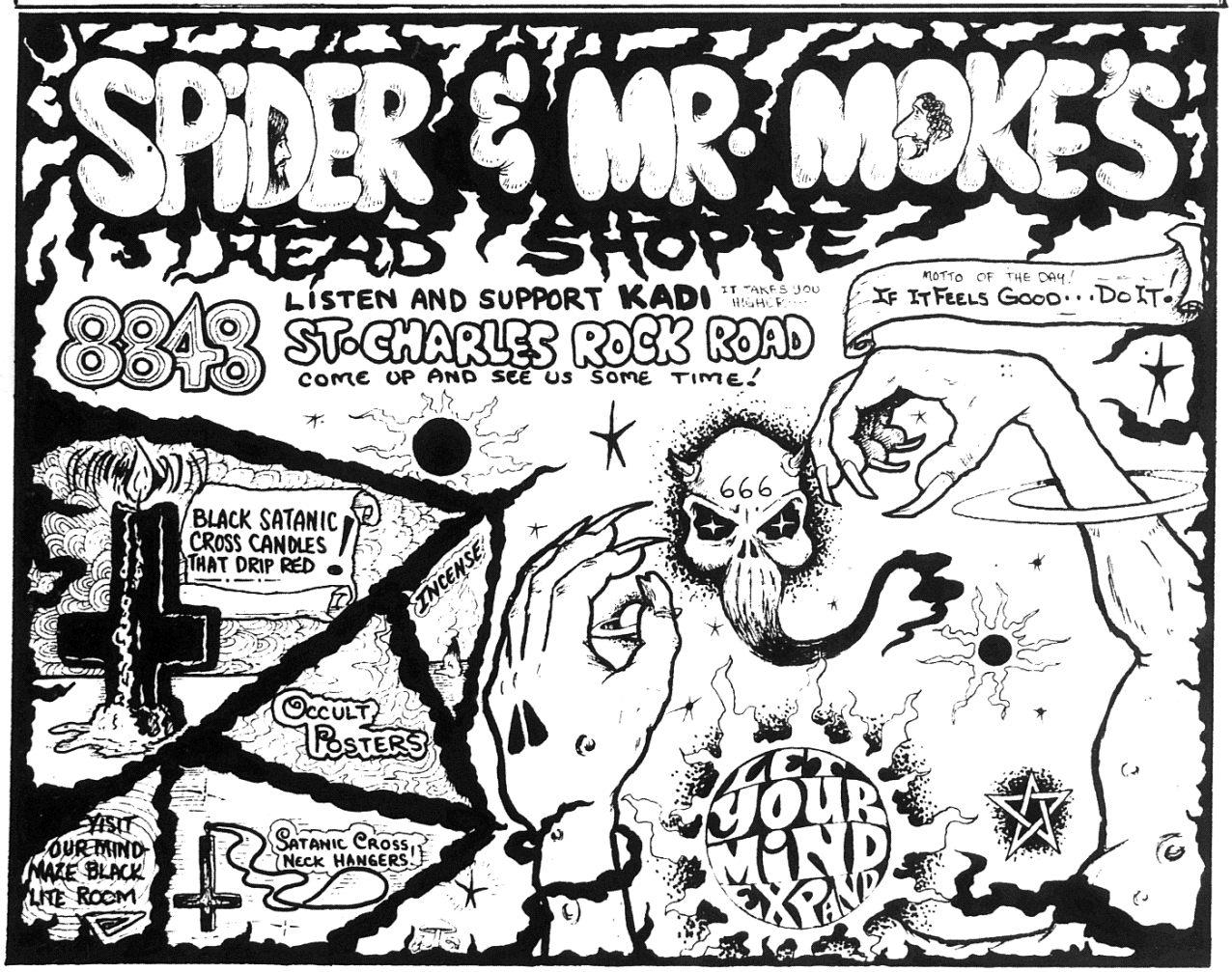
I tried to check as many things as possible, and remove those thing I found wrong, but Abbie was in a hurry, and the book was taken away from me before it could be completely corrected.

To be fair, you should know that I am suing Abbie for failure to pay me for arranging the distributor, typesetting, printing and for doing the re-writing proofing, and editing.

Abbie stands to make about $275,000 if this book sells the expected half-million. Think about that for a moment.

Steal this Book(definitely), but steal it with caution.

Thomas Forcade



their satanic majesties'

STICKY FINGERS

The Rolling Stones have a new album out—"Sticky Fingers." And "Gimme Shelter" just left town a while ago. You can't think about the music or the movie without thinking about the Stones themselves. They demand energy.

The Rolling Stones are the rock music business' premiere act. Nothing storms the country like a Stones tour. The most amazing murmer about any festival is 'The Stones will be there." At a gathering of people, when you want to get down to some dancin' you do it to Stones.

But a lot of people hate the Stones. Women have righteously put down the Stones—especially in the person of Mick Jagger—because they're sexist ("Under My Thumb," "Brown Sugar.") A lot of people are down on the Stones because of all the bread they're rolling up. Other people say they're evil and they killed Meredith Hunter at Altamont.

The first thing that cums 2 mind is that it's a far out thing that people react so heavily to the Stones. I mean, nobody is into really hating Grand Funk—even though their lyrics are just as sexist as the Stones' and they're ten times as macho on stage—and they sell more records than the Stones do. But people don't get fired up about Grand Funk like they do about the Stones.

The Stones are the sorcerors of the repressed. Heavy rock n' roll— born of repressed sexuality sweating dry-humping in the back seat of a '57 Chevy. Got ta, Got ta. But that's where Grand Funk derails and their Satanic Majesties delve deeper and touch root—start gettin' to some evil origins. Keith Richard starts to sting, Mick Jagger stretches his skin tight and the incantation begins. Mick Jagger conjuring up the spirit at Altamont and sliding along a 300.000 power vibration. And that's where the black magic is. The Stones are the medium, we're the energy.

And that's why people both get off so heavily on the Stones and hate them so much. They're real. They're

The Rolling Stones circa 'Mother's Little Helper'

Keith & Mick on the light/dark pendulum

under your skin. Uneedum. Your darkest fascinations acted out on stage, gone wild under 3 billion candlepower. The true performance that achieves madness. Unearthed phosphorous.

But sometimes what lurks in the dark side has been buried too long— it's too twisted, too heavy to face. But it eventually comes around—like on an acid trip. Altamont was on an acid vibration. Death trip for the acid culture. Love and hate are only two poles of the same sphere: the other side of love/hate had to come around sometime.

It's too shallow to say the Stones were responsible for Altamont. Not when we loved Sympathy for the Devil til that very moment. You can't turn traitor on your own mind. That's how the dark side got started in the beginning.

Life is an interplay between light and dark. But the circle doesn't spin in place. It moves forward to liberation. As Don Juan tells Carlos Casteneda,"You can't dwell on the green fog. You have to direct your thoughts in order to move on to higher levels of consciousness." How far are the Stones taking things?

The Stones are strung out on the dark side. They flaunt repressions but they can't move past them.

The Stones express a repressed sexuality—which is an oppressive, unfilling sexuality. Slashing sexuality " sometimes I feel so sexy, move like a stud, kick in the stall all night" has to stem from repressed impulses: constricted vision: oppressive role: "Brown Sugar, you make me feel so good, just like a young girl should." Even outside of straight roles, Jagger and Richard's gay scene on stage and in "Gimme Shelter" is affected and repressed. The Stones art is to throw people's repressions back in their faces, not to point new directions, that's why they're living symbols of decadence, not messengers of liberation.

"Sister Morphine and "Dead Flowers"—"I'll be in my basement room with a needle and a spoon"—show the Stones as victims of their stagnation.Smothered in the fog. The obliteration of movement.

A liberating message is also impossible within the context of the rock music scene the Stones are a part of. You can't take in the Stones without buying the entire rock mythology of commercialism, authoritarianism (ever been to a concert at Kiel?), personality cultism and sexism. (check out what Andrew Kopkind has to say about this in Ramparts .) Within this context of commerce and obedience, even when the Stones sing "Street Fighting Man" the mass audience is being teased about liberation rather than supported in a struggle.

So dig it. The New Stones album is outa sight. The flick is fantastic. But that's only the surface.

APARTHEID ON THE TUBE

Premier John Vorster's government has finally approved, in principle, a new plan that will bring television to South Africa in about four years. But apartheid (S.A. gov't policy of segregation) will apply.

Calvinist Afrikaner society has long resisted introduction of the television for fear that the black viewers might get some ideas – some white South Africans fear that the sight of a chorus line of scantily-clad white women might incite blacks to rape.

Chief anti-T.V. spokesman, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Albert Hertzog, has also claimed that T.V. is a "deadly weapon" that has been used to "undermine the morals of the white man and even to destroy great empires."

But white South Africans have felt cheated – they missed a look at the first moonwalk in 1969 – and since then they have been persistent in their demands for the box.

According to the government proposal, television will be under the strict control of the Ministry of National Education, and (surprise, surprise) there will be separate channels for blacks and whites.

bean farts

Making your own bean sprouts! In case bean sprouts need touting for anyone, they're low in starch (particularly if you start with soybeans), high in protien, they digest easily with none of the gas you get with canned beans, and they taste good and crunchy. Take any beans (soybeans are tasty and healthful) and place them in a widemouthed jar. Put a pourous cloth over the jar's mouth (cheesecloth is good). Soak the beans for the first 24 hours (covered with H20). Then drain off water. Keep beans moist-wash them (put water in a jar and slosh around) 2 or 3 tines a day. After about 5 days, the beans should be sufficiently sprouted. They are now ready to be eaten and enjoyed. They can also be refrigerated for a week or two. May be enjoyed as a snack, or added to soups, salads, omelettes, bread, yogurt, etc

GI

←4

building an antiwar movement among servicemen. In order to develop strong and stable organizations capable of gaining mass support, GI organizers must have the support of civilian activists.

Thus an experienced cadre of organizers is hard to maintain. These are just some of the problems of building an antiwar movement among servicemen. In order to develop strong and stable organizations capable of gaining mass support, GI organizers must have the support of civilian activists.

The most basic way for civilians to help the GI movement is to leave the cities and come to work in towns near military bases. Every project needs a staff of civilian activists who can help implement the policies that the service decide upon. Staffers are needed to maintain and operate coffeehouses/bookstores/movement centers, to help with mailings and office work, to print GI newspapers, to provide counseling materials, etc. The work is dangerous (several projects have been physically attacked) and it is difficult.

Civilian staffers must also learn the delicate art of doing daily work and yet allowing GIs the final decision over policy. Despite these problems, though, people must be willing to come to Army towns and commit themselves to aiding the struggle of GIs who make real sacrifices for peace every day of their lives.

-- David Cortright in Liberation

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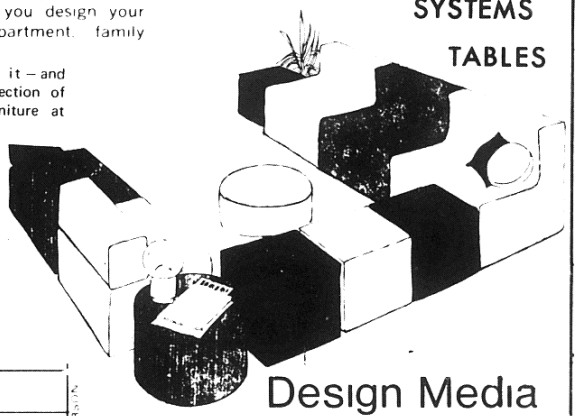

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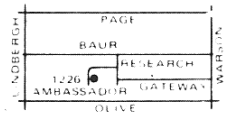

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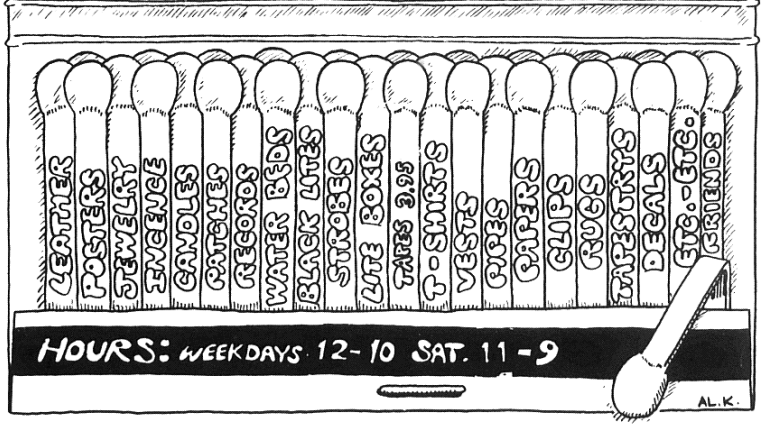

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PS '71 is Free. It is free to anyone who wants to organize a course in anything. It is free to anyone who wishes to attend any of the courses. And most important, it is free of credits, examinations, age restrictions and tuition. Of course, donations are desperately needed to pay for printing, postage, publicity. Please collect money in your classes; a minimum average of $2 a person is needed for PS '71 to continue next semester.

You are PS '71. We need your personal involvement and committment to continue to provide learning without the rigidity of institutionalized structure, learning for pure joy and self-fulfillment. General meetings will be held periodically to discuss all aspects of PS '71. Our next meeting will be Sunday afternoon, 2 - 4 pm, June 27, at All Saints Church School, Westgate and Clemens, University City.

For information on times and places for courses listed below, or if you would like to start a new course, call 993-0847 or 991-4845, or write Box 24113, U. City, Mo. Pick up brochures at the Outlaw office, 524 Melville.

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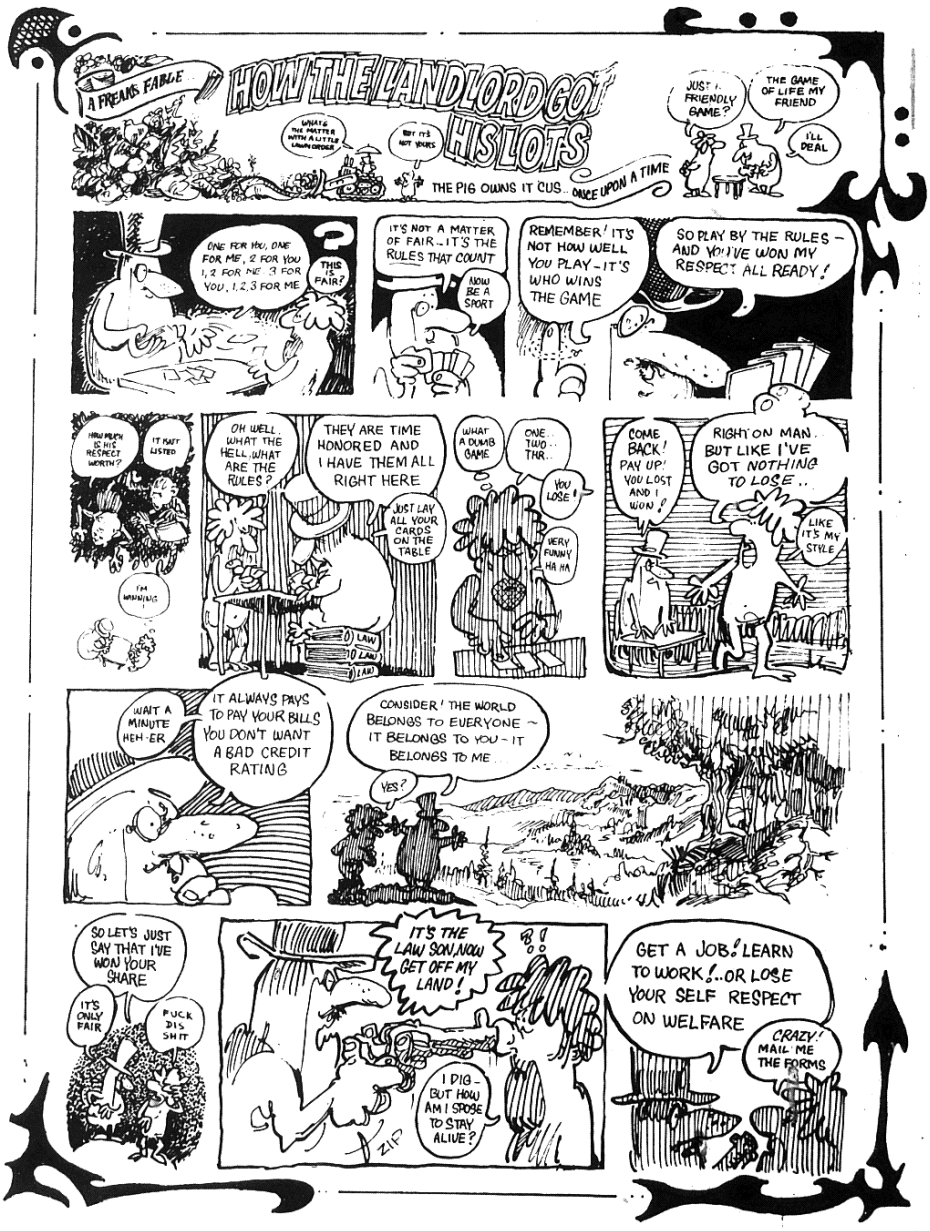
MATRIX

A matrix is an environment out of which something develops, and, in this spirit, the name of an alternative high school being started in the St. Louis area is Matrix. The philosophy behind the school is that learning is a mode of living.

The content of what any individual studies will depend upon individual interest and the nature of group experience. Major emphasis will be placed on the school developing into a community; therefore, such activities as weekly meetings, a weekly community meal, and the maintainence and development of the Matrix building by the group are part of the "curriculum".

Matrix consists of four core faculty, a second group of resource persons that will work with learners on specific projects or studies, and a third group that will be available for general consultation and the development of highly specialized interests. The organizers of Matrix emphasize that they want full time participants, not students who would participate on a part-time, after-public-school basis. (Of course, if anyone is forced to attend public school but is still interested, call anyway. Maybe something can be worked out).

The core faculty members hope to have a building in the Skinker-DeBalivere area very soon. If you are interested in Matrix call Jack Flynn (863-0828), Rene (993-0847), Fred (652-2246), or Alex (645-2900).



Women in the women's movement (mostly white) are beginning to glimpse the obstacles to SISTERHOOD, one being the absence of black women from the movement. Worse than their absence is the attitudes expressed by some black women towards the women's movement. . . "It's racist, it doesn't have an anti-imperialist consciousness, it's anti-man"; "How could white women be oppressed?" Many black women say they feel their identity as blacks before their identity as women.

From the other side, the women's movement quickly recognized that Black Liberation has often meant Black Man's Liberation and has been expressed machismo style politics. These black male revolutionaries have defined the role of the black woman in the revolution as the bearer and socializer of new revolutionaries. (The Black Panther Party has only recently talked about women fighting beside their men.) These men have criticized the women's movement for promoting free, legal abortion and birth control--which they see as genocide. And we wonder if black women accept this and why. Another pain added to all this is the personal difficulty I have had (and many of my white sisters) in developing relationships with black women.

The gap between white and black women is a serious and complex problem. And, as I am learning, one with a long involved history. The suspicion and hostility of black women to the women's movement probably hasn't made its position clear enough. (The media has done its best to over-power us and make us look ridiculous. In fact, much of what black women have said about women's liberation sounds like media images of "women's Lib.") Perhaps, we have spoken too soon about sisterhood and feminist revolution without understanding well enough where all women are coming from and what their specific needs are. What are the differences? What differences are important? How are we the same? We must understand the dynamics of our relationships in order to change them. What institutions are they a result of, and what values and myths justify the whole mess?

Something which really turned me on is **The Black Woman** edited by Toni Cade, a collection of poems and articles by black women about black women. These women are asking ". . . how relevant are the truths, the experiences, the findings of white women to Black women? Are women after all simply women?" There are a lot of different voices--strong, painful, angry,--ideas, feelings which give insight into the problem of black women's liberation. Important ideas about black/white/man/woman relationships help explain what

black women specifically have to deal with and why they are hostile to the white woman and the women's movement.

Antagonism Between the Black Man and Black Woman

The relationship between the black man and woman is quite different historically than that of their white counterparts. Their relationship has been warped by the brutalities of racism. While they may seek each other as an escape from Mr. Charley--they really can't escape the destruction of self-hatred and humiliation.

Black men and women are placing ultimate blame for their subjugation on each other, a propensity which fairly reeks of self-hatred. . .

Every woman writing in this book spoke bitterly about the matriarchal myth which has been used against black women. Popularized by white sociologists and some black male revolutionaries, the Black Matriarch theory has been used to explain away what are really the results of racism. Using the white matriarcal family as model, these myth-makers suggest the black man's problem is really that he's been emasculated by his woman--she's deballed him playing "mammy" to him and the kids--working and providing for them. She's been the strong, mean woman while he's become the slippery, no good devil who won't work. The Black Bitch and Jive-Ass Nigger story may be used to describe how things look--it doesn't explain why or how they got that way. It's whitey's way of using the black woman as scapegoat for the evils of racism and capitalism on both black men and women.

Black revolutionary men use this trip to explain why they've been down so long. Their women have deballed them and hence kept them powerless. This riff keeps black men and women divided. It's dangerous and can lead to really counter-revolutionary consciousness when people believe it. . . because it leads to solutions like the white man/women models and the patriarchal (white) family . . . and especially to women playing supporting roles.

. . . certain black men are maintaining that they have been castrated by society but that Black women some how escaped this persecution and even contributed to this emasculation.

To understand how things got that way we have to look at what slavery and "reconstruction" did to black men, women and children. It separated them, demoralized them, broke them. Black women were always spre of a job "before and after" slavery--producing more slaves and servicing the white family. Their Mammy image was further expolited by the media. After "emancipation" it was more difficult for black men to get jobs and they often had to travel or wander around the country to seek work, leaving their families behind. Today, a higher percentage of black women work than black men or white women. They do the most menial jobs for the lowest pay and the longest hours of all jobs available in our society. The structure of our welfare system has also kept the black family separated.

Black woman-White Man/White Woman-Black Man

The black/white sexual thing is too complicated to do it justice here. What is important here is the feelings black women have about black men chasing white women--this is central to the antagonism between black and white women.

It funny, I think, how colored men don't never want no colored women messing with no white mens but the first chance he get, that colored man gon be right there in that white woman's bed. Yeah, colored men sho give colored womens a hard way to go.

The black woman feels that her black man would leap at the chance to make it with a white woman--she resigns herself to it. Much of the black woman's' blues speaks of this pain. Why does he do it? Does he perceive the white woman as freedom? Or does he challenge the white man's power by conquering his prize property? Is it that the beauty standard of white skin, silken blond hair, blue eyes is so blatant that he can't appreciate the black woman? Probably it's all these things. And this does not discount the seduction by white women who often seduce black men to get at their white men

As if Black women did not have enough to contend with, being exploited economically as a worker, being used as a source of cheap labor because she is a female, and being treated even worse because she is Black, she also finds herself fighting the beauty "standards" of a white western society. Years ago it was a common sight to see Black women wearing blond wigs and rouge, the object being to get as close to the white beauty standard as one possibly could. But, in spite of the fact that bleaching creams and hair straighteners were used, the trick just didn't work. Her skin was still black instead of fair, and her hair kinky instead of straight. She was constantly being compared to the white woman, and she was the antithesis of what was considered beautiful. Usually when she saw a Black man with a white woman, the image she had of herself became even more painful.

Maxine Williams

Black is beautiful now and all kinds of whites are trying to get Afros and imitating styles of blacks. But the tensions are still there.

Myths about the mysterious sexuality of black men and women have been used to explain their being desired by white women and men. This is an example of the way blacks as a caste have been objectified.

The white man's wife symbolizes virtue and goodness to him but the black woman symbolizes sensuality and sexuality. She is evil and he treats her accordingly. The

Woman Poem

you see, my whole life
is tied up
to unhappiness
it's father cooking breakfast
and me getting fat as a hog
or having no food
at all and father proving
his incompetence
again
i wish i knew how it would feel
to be free

it's having a job
they won't let you work
or no work at all
castrating me
(yes it happens to women too)

it's a sex object if you're pretty
and no love
love and no sex if you're fat
get back fat black woman be a mother
grandmother strong thing but not woman
gameswoman romantic woman love needer
man seeder dick eater sweat getter
fuck needing love seeding woman

it's a hole in your shoe
and buying lil sis a dress
and her saying you shouldn't
when you know
all too well that you shouldn't

but smiles are only something we give
to properly dressed social workers
not each other
only smiles of i know
your game sister
which isn't really
a smile

joy is finding a pregnant roach
and squashing it
not finding someone to hold
let go get off get back don't turn
me on you black dog
how dare you care
about me
you ain't got no good sense
cause i ain't shit you must be lower
than that to care

it's a filthy house
with yesterday's watermelon
and monday's tears
cause true ladies don't
know how to clean
it's intellectual devastation
of everybody
to avoid emotional commitment
"yeah honey i would've married
him but he didn't have no degree"

it's knock-kneed mini skirted
wig wearing died blond mamma's scar
born dead my scorn your whore
rough heeled broken nailed powdered
face me
whose whole life is tied
up to unhappiness
cause it's the only
for real thing
i
know

Nikki Giovanni

BLA

W

institution of the black pimp
servicing the white man's sexu

Antagonism Between Black W

I have already mentioned
black women have for white
jealousies which are related t
business. It also comes from
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Later she worked as maid, d
for the white family.

It is extremely difficult f
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and "security" has never beer
woman. The effect of the
making black women feel p
hard for white women to ude

Black Liberation or Women's

The workings of our ca
racism and male supremacy h
divided--black, white, woma
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If black women feel that b
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Woman's Manifesto are expres
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women's movement com
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women define their liberatio
analysis in the women's mov
very clear what we believe ir
into white middle-class guilt t
conscious of women from all
We must understand the nee
form them. If we do this our
be constantly changing and o
expanding.

BLACK WOMEN

institution of the black pimp and prostitute grew out of servicing the white man's sexual"needs."

Antagonism Between Black Woman and White Woman

I have already mentioned how a lot of the mistrust black women have for white women comes from sexual jealousies which are related to the white beauty standard business. It also comes from the role that black women have played for white women. The black "mammy" was nursing, nurturing and caring for the white princesses. Later she worked as maid, domestic, cook and prostitute for the white family.

It is extremely difficult for black women to see that white women are oppressed, denied a full existence. The privileges and luxuries of the white woman, even if they are phony, have not been available to the black woman. And the structure of the family with its "protection" and "security" has never been an experience of the black woman. The effect of the white beauty standard in making black women feel physically debased would be hard for white women to understand.

Black Liberation or Women's Liberation or Both?

The workings of our capitalist economic system, racism and male supremacy have managed to keep us all divided--black, white, woman, man. What many black women see as "security, protection, and luxuries" for the white woman have been bought at a terrible price: dependency, subservience unfreedom, and the loss of self-determination. Women's liberation is about self-determination at a very basic level so there should be no conflict between women's liberation and black liberation and liberation struggles everywhere. Unless, of course, MEN are defining those movements--which has happened.

If black women feel that black liberation means to be like a white woman, then it would be true for them to say white women aren't oppressed. And for some black women this seems to be the case. But that's not what the women writing in **The Black Woman** or the **Black Woman's Manifesto** are expressing. So I am led to believe that the hostility black women have expressed to the women's movement comes from the historical experience we discussed on the one hand (and how black women define their liberation) and also the lack of real analysis in the women's movement which would make very clear what we believe in and why. Without falling into white middle-class guilt trips, we must constantly be conscious of women from all races, cultures, and classes. We must understand the needs of all women and learn form them. If we do this our strategy for revolution will be constantly changing and our vision of a future always expanding.

Poem

I'm not one of those who believes
That an act of valor, for a woman
Need take place inside her.

My womb is packed in mothballs
And I hear that winter will be mild.

Anyway I gave birth twice
And my body deserves a medal for that
But I never got one.

Mainly because they thought
I was just answering the call of nature.

But now that the revolution needs numbers
Motherhood got a new position
Five steps behind manhood

And I thought sittin' in the back of the bus
Went out with Martin Luther King.

Kay Lindsey

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF BLACK WOMEN

The economic system of capitalism finds it expedient to reduce women to a state of enslavement. They oftentimes serve as a scapegoat for the evils of this system. Much in the same way that the poor white cracker of the South who is equally victimized, looks down upon blacks and contributes to the oppression of blacks,--So by giving to men a false feeling of superiority (at least in their own home or in their relationships with women,) the oppression of women acts as an escape valve for capitalism. Men may be cruelly exploited and subjected to all sorts of dehumanizing tactics on the part of the ruling class, but they have someone who is below them-- at least they're not women.

Women also represent a surplus labor supply, the control of which is absolutely necessary to the profitable functioning of capitalism. Women are systematically exploited by the system. They are paid less for the same work that men do and jobs that are specifically relegated to women are low-paying and without the possibility of advancement. Statistics from the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor show that the wage scale for white women was even below that of black men; and the wage scale for non-white women was the lowest of all:

White Males----------$6,704
Non-white Males--------- 4,277
White Females---------- 3,991
Non-white Females------- 2,861

Those industries which employ mainly black women are the most exploitative in the country. Domestic and hospital workers are good examples of this oppression; the garment workers in New York City provide us with another view of this economic slavery. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) whose overwhelming membership consists of black and Puerto Rican women has a leadership that is nearly lily-white and male. This leadership has been working in collusion with the ruling class and has completely sold its soul to the corporate structure.

To add insult to injury, the ILGWU has invested heavily in business enterprises in racist, apartheid South Africa--with union funds. Not only does this bought-off leadership contribute to our continued exploitation in this country by not truly representing the best interests of its membership, but it audaciously uses funds that black and Puerto Rican women have provided to support the economy of a vicious government that is engaged in the economic rape and murder of our black brothers and sisters in our Motherland--Africa.

The entire labor movement in the United States has suffered as a result of the super exploitation of black and women. The unions have historically been racist and chauvinistic. They have upheld racism in this country (and condoned imperialist exploitation around the world)--and have failed to fight the white skin privileges of white workers. They have failed to fight or even make an issue against the inequities in the hiring and pay of women workers. There has been virtually no struggle against either the racism of the white worker or the economic exploitation of the working woman, two factors which have consistently impeded the advancement of the real struggle against the ruling capitalist class.

This racist, chauvinistic and manipulative use of black workers and women, especially black women, has been a severe cancer on the American labor scene. It therefore becomes essential for those who understand the workings of capitalism and imperialism to realize that the exploitation of black people and women works to everyone's disadvantage and that the liberation of these two groups is a stepping stone to the liberation of all oppressed people in this country and around the world.

Frances Beale
Black Woman's Manifesto

BEER!†+*!! BREW IT YOURSELF

It appears to be time, now that growing and making your own is the key word to living, to ressurect the Dope of the depression--Homebrew. It no longer has the mystique of illegality to it, dope has supplanted that, but it does offer good vibrations in making it and a pleasant high. Besides being homemade, you can view it as cutting out Augustus Busch and the other fascist pigs who are ripping off the Common Man.

THIS DELICIOUS ZESTFUL DRINK PUTS AN

END TO THE SKINNY BODY!

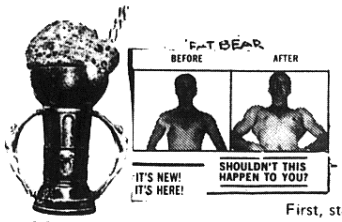
Homebrew, of course, is illegal But you'd have to make a swimming pool of the stuff and sell it in front of the Revenue Department before they'd bust you. Suffice it to say, make small quantities (5-10 gallons), don't sell it, and you're OK.

Basically, you need five ingredients: malt (for body), hops (for flavor), sugar (for alcohol and carbonation), yeast(to make it work), and water. What you're doing is feeding malt and sugar to some yeastie beasties who, in exchange for love and affection, turn the whole mess into beer. A word of warning: brewing beer can be messy and lengthy and not that much cheaper than some commercial beer. If you want a cheep drunk go back to Gussie Busch, if you can dig the vibes of something you made, plus an improvement in quality over the commercial shit, read on.

This is a recipe for Light Steam Beer, a light, drinkable beer. It's brewed at just below room temperature so any dark basement will do. Most or all of the equipment you'll need can be purchased in several area stores, improvised, or bought by mail.

For equipment, cop: 1-2 gal. or better steel or enamel pot 1-10 gal. plastic trash can 1-5 gal. jug 1-fermentation lock with rubber stopper(a heavy balloon will do) 12 feet of plastic tubing 1 hygrometer 2 yards of cheesecloth 1-½ gal. wine bottle and bottles and capping equipment.

For ingredients, procure: 2½ lbs. hops flavored malt extract 3 lbs. corn sugar(regular sugar will do) 1 tsp. salt 1 tsp. Ascorbic acid(vitamin C) 1 pkg. Lager yeast (ordinary store yeast will do, but it is lower quality) 2 tsp. Brewing salts ½ tsp Gelatin Finings,



First, start the yeast 2-3 days before the beer. Put 2 tablespoons malt extract, 4 cupswater and 1/2 tsp. salt on to boil for 3 minutes. Cool to room temp. and add 1/4 - 1/2 tsp.dry yeast. Put into the wine bottle and attach fermentation lock. When the yeast has a frothy head (2-3 days) proceed:

1. dissolve malt extract in 2 gal. of boiling water. Add salt and lemon juice.
2. put sugar (3lbs. less 2 cups) in 10 gallon can. POUR malt solution over it to dissolve the sugar. Add hops extract. Add water to 51/2 gallon level and let stand overnight.
3. add yeast starter and cover with cheesecloth.
4. In 1-3 days, skim of the frothy head which forms.
5. Pull out your hygrometer and begin taking readings. The hygrometer measures the specific gravity and can tell you how much alchol is formed. When you start the reading should be 1.035 (all sugar, no alchol). When it reads 1.010 or in 4-5 days, put the beer into the 5 gallon jug.
6. Put 1/2 tsp. gelatin in a cup of water, let stand for 30 minutes, boil for 5 minutes and add to the jug. Attach fermentation lock and let it rot some more.
7. In about 10 days (give or take a lot) check until the reading is 1.000. When this happens, dissolve the 2 cups of sugar in the beer.
8. Bottle the beer, leaving an inch or so of sediment on the bottom. Make sure the bottles are clean.
9. Let it age. Three weeks at least to six (which is better). Now you've gotten this far, you may notice some gook at the bottom. These are just the dead yeasties who gave themselves for you. Commercial breweries filter out all the yeast at brewing time and artificially carbonate the beer. So what you're actually drinking is alcoholic soda pop. Now don't you feel better about all that trouble you just went through? Just sit back and let the good times roll.

Rotten Tomatoes

Imperial Beach, Cal.(LNS)-- A ripening $250,000 tomato crop is beginning to blacken on the vine.

Chanting "Huelga"(strike), early each day since late March, nearly 75 Mexican field workers and students have marched across the border into Southern California to set up a picket line at the lettuce and tomato fields of Egger Ghio Company. The strike aims to get the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) recognized as the pickers bargaining union.

Although a California judge has limited the number of picketers to 30 each at Egger Ghio's two farms the UFWOC's first organizing targets in Southern California, work at the two farms is at a standstill. The strikers are frequently joined by San Diego State College students and California Chicano organizations.

The strike caused the company's owner to announce recently that he might have to move to Mexico or sell the farm land to real estate developers. He says that a UFWOC victory "could mean the loss of $143,000 annual business." Egger Ghio's farms total 580 acres. There are approximately 500 very similar farming operations in Orange County which collectively use the labor of about 3,000 non-unionized field hands. Many of the laborers walk to homes in Mexico each night after work.

Most field workers in Southern California make $ 2.00 an hour: in Mexico, a farm laborer can be hired for $2.65 to $3.80 a day, according to the California Board of Agriculture.

U.S. agribusiness has been migrating to Mexico in droves since 1964, when the U.S. government stopped letting Southwestern farmers transport Mexican workers into the States. Up until the time of this ban, Mexicans were brought across the border in truckloads. They were paid a few dollars a day and were kept in run-down, vermin infested camps.

The California Board of Agriculture says that 15% of Mexico's agricultural exports are now American owned and that last year Mexican farms exported about $225 million in produce to the U.S. Since 80% of the Mexican grown produce had a lower price tag than similar U.S. grown foods, many more farm owners will be moving to Mexico to escape the growing number of organized farm workers in the Southwest.

The Mexican Pacific Coast is being covered with U.S. owned canning, freezing, and packaging plants, as the new migrants consolidate their new investments.

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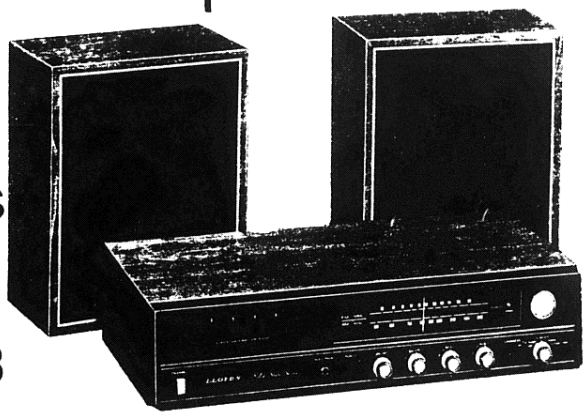

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God's Secret Agent A.O.S.3

ACID RAP:

TIM LEARY & A.STANLEY OWSLEY

He preaches: Oh, man, how beautifully it all fits together. Dig, the first atomic fission occurred in Dec. 1942.

Is that the one in the Chicago squash court?

Yeah. Now dig. The Van Allen belt is a thick blanket of electronic activity protecting this planet. What is the earth? A core of molten metals covered by a thin layer of soft, vulnerable, organic tissue. Life nibbling away, nibbling away at the rock beneath. All life on the planet is a delicate network unified. Each living form feeding on the others. And being eaten. The Van Allen belt is the higher intelligence protecting earth from lethal solar radiation, and it's in touch with every form of living intelligence on the earth, vegetable, animal, human.

I laughed. Alchemist, you are so orthodox. Our Father who art in heaven above. I pointed upward. He really is up there, huh? Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in the Van Allen belt.

He didnt stop to acknowledge my comment. Somehow He records neurologically what I say and reprograms it, and prints it back out to me in endless tapes of electronic poetry, but He never listens.

Now dig. The Supreme Intelligence sees that man has rediscovered atomic energy. Wow. We gotta stop those cats before they disrupt the whole living network. The only thing DNA fears is radiation. That's why the Van Allen belt is there.

OK, now get this. Four months after the first fission, Hoffman accidentally, ha ha, rediscovers LSD, which is now psychoactive.

Rediscovers?

Yeah, man. Actually Hoffman first synthesized LSD in 1938 but it gave no hit. No turn-on. Now why is it that Hoffman handles LSD in 1938 and nothing happens and then in 1943, three months after atomic energy is released, he puts his finger on lysergic acid and gets flipped out? What happened? Did Hoffman suddenly get careless? Or had LSD suddenly been changed into a psychedelic chemical? Competent chemists just dont change their handling of compounds. Hoffman's techniques are standard.

His eyes are dancing and He's laughing and his hands and body are moving. He was a ballet dancer once before He started making drugs.

Now dig. The atomic fission in December 1942 changed the whole system of energy in this solar system. The higher intelligence decides to make a few simple changes in the electronic structure of some atoms, and zap! We have LSD, an incredibly powerful substance that is the exact antidote to atomic enery. People take LSD and flash! They get the message and start putting things back in harmony with the great design. Stop war, wear flowers, conservation. Turning on people to LSD is the precise and only way to keep war from blowing up the whole system.

—from the Politics of Ecstacy
by Tim Leary

DOPE SCOPE Summer's comming round and in the air is a natural good-feeling high(here and there amoungst the pollution).Supplements to aid and abbet your mind, and possible guises of the eucharist are also around as follow-. The following are bad or rumored to be bad, avoid them: Black dome: one bad report on this one Clear cap with grey powder: bad stuff Medium brown acid: no good

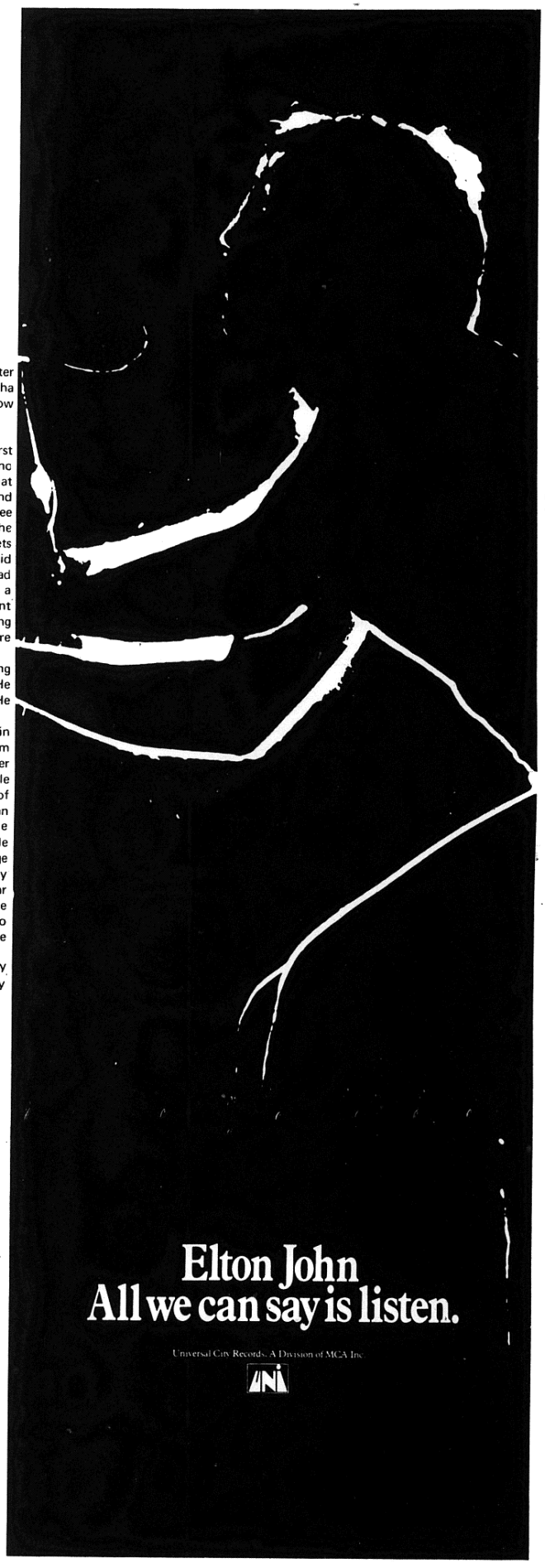
BAD speed in county-speed is always bad, this is just worse white lightening- bad, lot of speed

The following are as reported: St. Louis County-mescaline(white tabs)- mild, good $1-$1½ per hit, 100/$75 yellow sunshine- strong enough, too expensive at$2/hit white organic mescaline-medium strong, also too much at $2/hit MDA-seems to have good reports, High at $2½ but as we've said before, true MDA is rarely come by. Elsewhere- Purple pills- easy trip if you can sacrifice $2/hit purple microdot- lots around, a good trip at 75 cents, windowpane- still around and still good, heavy trip some pure stuff on blotter- not being sold but good if you can get turned on, about 100 mics per piece so do at least a couple

EXTRA-- Woodrose is rumored to be a leagle trip, 4-8 seeds usual dose, take seed out of pod and scrub off fuzz-has strychnine-take on an empty stomach and stay cool, lasts about 3-4 hours, available from: Chong's nursury and flowers, PO box 2154 Honolulu(cost unknown)

Weed: Some good grass to be here this week,-100-150$ /pound Lots of hash-$85-$100/ounce, 5-7/gram some black,both hard and soft and a small quantity of good red-Michoacan-$15 small ounce. pounds(biblebricks) $150

And remember: avoid hard drugs— the only dope worth shooting is Richard Nixon!



BOSTON:

MEMO: "Favor to the FBI"

(LNS) — "Despite public statements to the contrary, Xerox is cooperating fully with the FBI," announced Xerox president Peter McColough recently.

When the FBI determined that its stolen files were duplicated on a table top 660 series copier, Xerox manager of public relations Gerald Mulligan said that, upon FBI request, the company had furnished the bureau with a list of all customers who lease 660 series machines. They had refused FBI requests for further assistance on the grounds that it would compromise "customer relationships". Mulligan at the time said that if Xerox management "got directly involved in the FBI investigation," it "would be obliged to inform our customers".

So far, Xerox hasn't informed its customers and the FBI hasn't used subpoenas to get the copies. The Xerox Boston memo which started the repairmen off on their extra job was simply titled: "Favor to the FBI".

The Citizen's Committee to Investigate the FBI ripped off 800 files. They have found tha 40% of the files involve investigation of domestic political activity. Only 1% is about investigation of organized crime(the Mafia). The Xerox corp. has helped the FBI to locate the machine used to duplicate the files. The Committee figures they will be apprehended by Hoover's henchmen within a week.

Other files released by the erstwhile servants of the people include information such as an FBI program to use Boy Scouts as informers. They were asked to report about "suspicious activity or lack of activity at their neighbors homes.

SACRAMENTO:

-A judge said that selecting jurors from voter lists discriminates against Indians-but it's legal anyway. The motion by the Pit River Indians was denied because the exclusion of Indians was 'unintentional.' (Jurors must also take a White-oriented intelligence and vocabulary test.) The motion came in the trial of 35 Indians accused of 'trespassing' on Pit River ancestral lands, claimed also by the P.G.&E. utility monopoly.

SAN ANTONIO:

Researchers Use Chicano Women
As Guinea Pigs In Pill Test

-Eleven babies have been born to Chicano women who were given dummy pills at a birth control research center where they went to get contraceptives. The 'volunteers' were not told of the experiment, intended to prove that symptoms associated with the pills (such as headaches and depression) are psychological in origin.

Dr. Joseph Goldzieher, who conducted the experiment, says that pregnancies are 'probably due to the women's carelessness' in using the 'F.D.A. approved vaginal creams' which they were told would supplement the pills. He conceded that 'None of the women were told that they might get pregnant. If you think you can explain a placebo test to women like these, you never met Mrs. Gomez from the West Side.'

liberation news service

JACKSON MICHIGAN:

-The billboard guerillas struck and got away again-but two slow-footed student reporters for the Michigan Daily were arrested. Their story assignment ended in charges of 'aiding and abetting malicious destruction of property.' The guerillas have chopped down between 80 and 90 ugly bots on the landscape in the past three months.

AUSTIN' TEXAS:

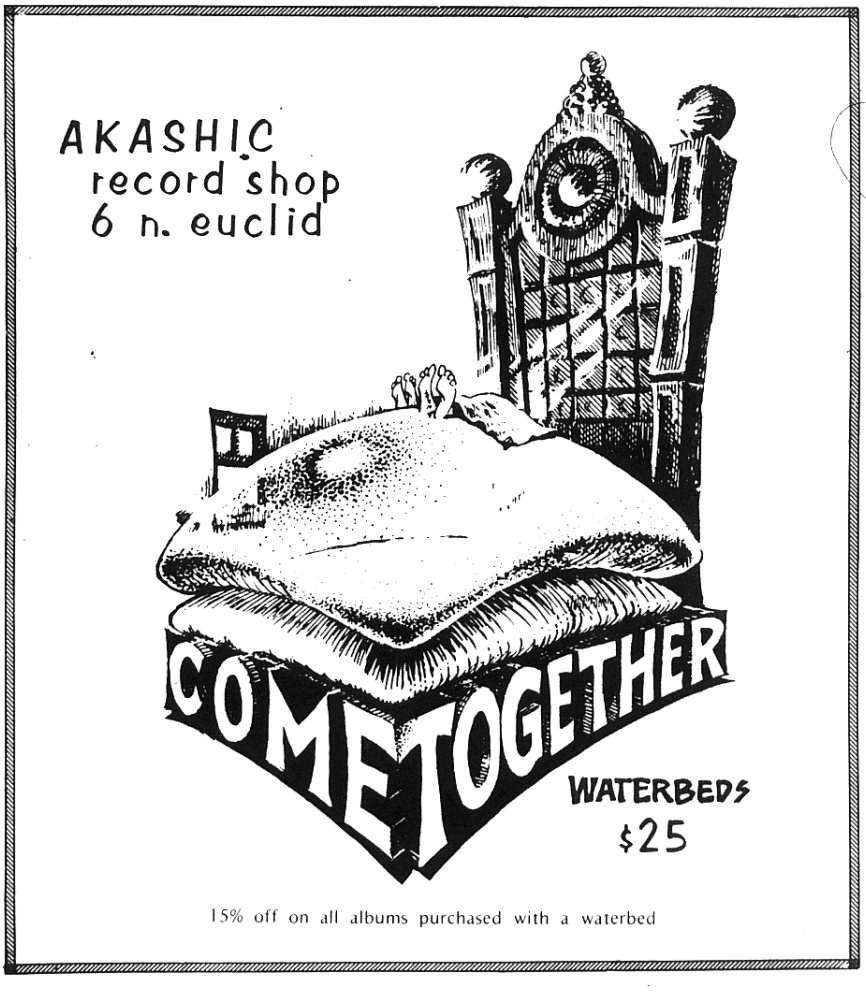
-A resolution endorsing the Boston Strangler for his work in the field of population control has been unanimously approved by the Texas House of Representatives.

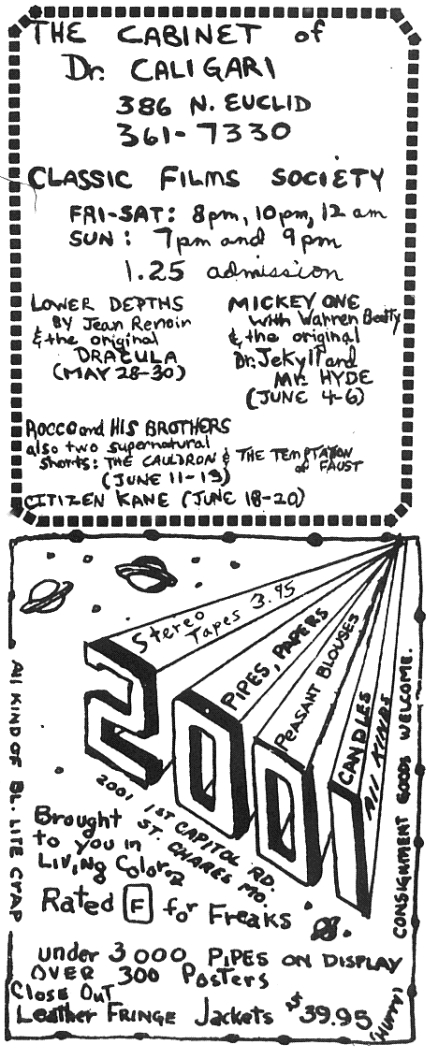
Specifically, the resolution commends Albert de Salvo, the man who was implicated in the deaths of a number of Boston area women, for unselfishly serving 'his country, his state and his community.' It continues, 'This compassionate gentleman's dedication and devotion to his work has enabled the weak and lonely throughout the nation to achieve and maintain a new degree of concern for their future. He has been officially recognized by the State of Massachusetts for his noted activities and unconventional techniques involving population control and applied psychology.'

The resolution was sponsored by Representative Tim Moore, who did it to show how the legislature passes bills and resolutions often without even reading them or knowing what they say.

CHICAGO:

The Fox (a middle-aged ecology freak) struck again recently, by placing a foul-smelling liquid in the offices of U'S. Steel. Under police analysis the liquid proved to be the residue dumped from the company's drain pipes into the once beautiful Fox River. And, in Seattle, Texaco's office was smeared with crankcase oil after zoo birds died from diesel oil being spilled in Puget Sound instead of being loaded on a barge.





NEW HAVEN- U.S. Against the People

A few weeks ago, a couple of us were in New Haven, Connecticut. We went with a pessimistic attitude towards the kind of trial that Erika and Bobby were getting, but we did want to show our support for them.

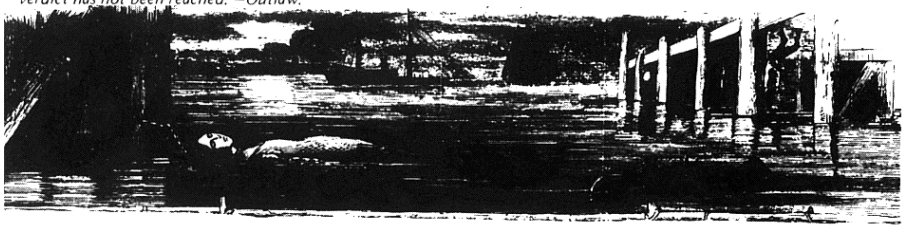
The trial was a lot like the ones we've seen in St. Louis. At the time we were there, Arnold Markle, the state's prosecutor, was introducing a lot of graphic pictures of the dead Alex Rackley. The defense was objecting to the pictures on the grounds that they were inflammatory and repetitive. It's been established that Rackley is dead, and Bobby and Ericka are not on trial for murder, but for conspiracy in Rackley's death. Ericka's lawyer, Katherine Rorabach, presented a clear, concise argument against allowing the pictures to be used, but Judge Mulvey just sat there on his throne, and after applying his somewhat wishy-washy legal expertise, overruled the defense objections. (In St. Louis the government presented a lot of spectacular pictures of the burning ROTC building and the crowd around it, during the trials of people who weren't on trial for anything having to do with the burning of the building.

There were some other things we found out from fellow supporters -- for example, how the state's chief witness, George Sams, changed his story from the one he told at Lonnie McLucas' trial last summer. (Remember Dick Byrd in St. Louis, who must have told at least three different versions of what happened at the ROTC building?).

Aside from all the other legal bullshit we could tell you about, let's look at Erika and Bobby. We've all heard what incredibly beautiful people they -- believe us, you have to see them to believe it, they are, they are. They radiated a strength, energy, and assurance that few of us seemed to be able to muster in such an oppressive situation.

We must free Bobby and Erika. These are people who are desperately needed out in the streets with us again. Free all of Amerika's political prisoners.

—As we go to press, the jury has been out five days and a verdict has not been reached. —Outlaw.



EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE EVENING JOURNAL. MAY 5, 1902

"KILL EVERY ONE OVER TEN." —GEN. JACOB H. SMITH.

RIP-OFF CRASHER

Although I'm generally optimistic about the "counter culture", an experience of a couple of months ago points out something to be aware of. This guy who needed a place to crash somehow ended up at my apartment and I let him stay. I've done this before and usually people were good about cleaning up after themselves and helping with meals and dishes. I've always felt good about them when they left.

This recent experience was somewhat different,however. When our hero arrived he had no bread and no job, so of course I fed him what I could afford. He was only going to be there for a week, so it wouldn't be much of a burden.

As it turned out, he got a job right off, as well as some money from " a friend". I thought things were working out for him. What I didn't realize was that he was spending his money on cigarettes and expecting me to feed him. After this first week he stayed on, with the explanation that he had no bread.

I let him stay and continued to feed him as well as lend him some bus fare. I made it clear that he didn't need to pay me for anything, but that he definitely should not make any long distance calls on the phone. I should say at this point that he never offered to help fix a meal and only **once** in a total of three weeks did he do any dishes. I guess he assumed that it was my duty as a female to feed and clean up after him.

He finally left one day without a word. He'd already lost one key I gave him and split with the second one. He didn't even leave a note. I suppose he felt too guilty because he left me with four long distance phone calls to pay for. I couldn't believe it at first, but I later found out that he'd done this before. The money he got from "a friend" really came from his mother...he's ripped her off before too (and she's **not** rich).

After rapping with other people I've found this story to be a fairly common one. Brothers and sisters have gotten into ripping each other off. What began as an act against property has become an act against people. It is taking over our culture.

It seems like ripping off began for kicks when we found out we could get away with it. Ripping off record albums, steaks and pay phones became the way of life for thousands...the new substitute for money. Of course, we only ripped off big business and hip capitalists...they made their profits by exploiting people, charging exhorbitant prices for bad products and services while underpaying their workers. We were justified in ripping them off.

However, a culture which gets so into ripping off may soon lose sight of its original purpose. Our culture began with the idea that private property and money corrupted people so that instead we would share out food and shelter with anyone who needed them. Work would be done equally by everyone and traditional roles would be broken down.

We haven't succeeded in our purpose. Some people seem to be indiscriminately ripping off. Giant businesses are one thing, individual sisters and brothers who work at boring, low paying jobs are another. In so many cases it turns out that one of my sisters who is working as a secretary or waitress gets continual requests to crash at her place. If she says yes, she not only gets ripped off financially, but also psychologically and physically. She is supposed to be housekeeper and cook and often sexual object as well.

Whenever we rip each other off, we are no better than the society we criticize. If we don't become conscious of the consequences of our actions, we may continue to rip off our brothers and sisters, in which case all of our great goals will be empty.

Kingston, Ontario-500 prisoners held six guards hostage for several days in a rebellion sparked by staff brutality at Canada's biggest prison. When guards started firing, they promised to cut off a hostages finger for every shot. That put a stop to that. But later in the week, combat troops swarmed them, killing one prisoner and wounding at least a dozen more.

GAY MILITANCY

GAY IS GOOD!

We are today seeing the first rumblings of the Gay Revolution. Ours is a time of protest against social oppression. Among Blacks, Women, Indians, Chicanos, and now Gays there is a rising consciousness of togetherness to meet the oppressor and defeat him Here and Now!

The arch-oppressor of the Gays is the straight in a straight society who cannot stand to let another live his own life style because he fears or loathes the beauty of loving in what he calls an "abominable" or "unnatural" way. This oppressor is not rational. He is activated by contempt. Freedom is relative to him--relative to his own straight frame of reference. To protect his own ego, his own self-structured rectitude, he enacts the vaguest of laws and applies them capriciously in order to stifle what the ages has shown to be natural, creative and beauteous mode of love expression. And his time of intolerance, and crime is ending now! Gays are rising to meet the oppressor, here and everywhere, for Gays are everywhere.

Homosexuality is one form of love expression. Not everyone is or ought to be homosexual. It seems that the majority do prefer the heterosexual form of love, but this gives them no right to force their will or their life-style upon other individuals in what is essentially a matter of personal choice.

Gays have been content to slink around bars and baths. They have been victims of hustlers. They have sought trade, all the while running the risk of possible enticement bythe law. They have been forced out of jobs which they were capable of performing because of pretexts used to avoid stating the real cause of dismissal. They have been the victims of particularly vicious police brutality, sometimes having to buy their freedom by greasing some cop's palm. They have born a stigma entirely different from other oppressed groups, a stigma particularly unreasoning and contemptuous. They have lived two lives, having to hide constantly what is after all merely another mode of living. And worst of all, they have been victimized into victimizing themselves with a self-hatred that has warped their character until they at times are the despicable characters that straight society would like to think them to be. But it is not being gay that warps people, it is the contemptible, loathsome oppression of straight society.

There are liberated Gays who no longer take the shit of the oppressor. Gay is good! Gay is here to stay! We are going to change society or bring it down. We have just begun; and to the dedicated, there is no end. As we grow and gather strength, you will hear more and more of us. Even now we are preparing means to bring ourselves and our cause to your attention. And we will be as radical as we need to be in order to achieve our ends.

We demand an end to anti-homosexual laws. Sex between two or more consenting individuals is a personal affair, far beyond any justifiable reach of governments. Laws against molestation should be more carefully drawn so as to provide safeguards against enticement by police. Police enticement should be a crime.

We demand a change in employment practices. Whether one is or is not a homosexual has no bearing on his ability to perform a task. And if homosexuality were considered merely another form of love expression, blackmail and embarrassment would be non-existent. Covert discrimination against the homosexual should be zealously exposed and investigated.

We demand the freedom to create and express our own life style. We do not ask that non-homosexuals participate in it with us. We do not want them unless they are prepared to accept us as equals. We intend to live freely and securely with dignity and self-respect. For if we don't, others will suffer with us. The time of being cowed is ended; it is ended because it is wrong and immoral. In an era of rising consciousness, our revolution is taking its rightful place.

The time will come when Gay men and women will be free. We of Gay Liberation will make that time!

radical lesbians

St. Louis women who attended the conference with Indochinese women in Toronto came back from that meeting with very different views of what happened there. In this issue, we're running statements from two of the St. Louis women who attended, and an article on the conference from the gay women's paper Lavender Vision.

TORONTO

The weekend of April 10th there was a conference for women in Canada and the U.S. to meet with sisters from Laos, South Vietnam, and North Vietnam.

I knew it would be hard but I also thought that some of it would be a terrific up. I knew that there would be straight women that called themselves "anti-imperialist" who wouldn't say lesbians were as "anti-imperialist" as they. I knew there would be tensions between Third World women and white women, between feminists and "anti-war" women. But I hoped I could meet with SISTERS – black, gay, straight, white, "anti-imperialist", feminist, and Indochinese and talk about ourselves! Instead, what a trip! It was like a pressure cooker!

The structure separated us: Third World vs. Women's Liberation; Lesbians vs. Women's Liberation vs. Third World women. Where could Third World-Lesbian-Women's Liberationists go?

I went whacko trying to understand why some white women felt black women were controlling decisions and why some black women felt white women were. The racism was awful – as always – but this was worse than I ever felt it before. The white liberal women (from Women's Strike for Peace) who escorted the Indochinese around used their knowledge of French to isolate the Third World escort women from the Indochinese. The Indochinese knew French, and so did the liberals, the Third World sisters didn't, so...

And there was one woman who was very disruptive. Like she yelled things like "All Third World women are controlled by men."

The way the conference was structured prevented the Third World women and the white women that had come from the same city as one delegation from staying together as one group at the conference – almost

everything was separate – and this plus comments on the part of some of the women made the walls higher.

It was like a maze.

Lesbians were getting so fucked over – no time for gay workshops, people saying that we're disruptive, not political, people putting each other into categories. We used our energy to combat the sexism against us – who else is gonna do it? But we're anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-war too! We have to remind some straight women of that sometimes.

I didn't agree with lots of the women's politics there. But the categories were set up when we got there so I didn't get to talk to very many women. (I met some out-a-site lesbians from different places). People assumed others were in a category –

-A Third World straight woman was assumed to be one who doesn't care about Women's Liberation, who pushes you up against the wall because you're white.

-A white lesbian was one who wants to make you, who doesn't care about the war, and who pushes you up against the wall because you're straight.

-A Third World lesbian was both or either/or or what, who, where, how, confusion.

(And then there were all the other categories, but we are the ones who got most fucked.)

A happy note: When we read "Will all gay sisters please stand" at the beginning of the statement we made, three-fourths of the audience stood up shouting, "We are all lesbians!" I was on the verge of tears most of the time – this was a happy time.

Feminists had come from a long way away to this conference because they cared. Not to disrupt it, as the rumors said, but to talk about feminism to other women, and to talk about how feminists and lesbians had been kept out of being delegates to the conference. (There were few feminists and lesbians there as delegates). There were men on the food committee instead of some of these women. So we had a meeting of all the delegates. There was a vote taken about whether to open the conference up to these sisters. We lost. I wanted to leave. We tried to have a party that night at a gay house but we weren't much in the mood.

A sister told me later that she had talked to one woman from Indochina. She asked if it was alright to send women's literature to Indochina. The sister grabbed her hands, and said that she had thought that this is why she had come – to talk about women. She felt as if she had been lied to.

There was so much bureaucracy and no one seemed to know who decided what. Different people have different theories as to who's responsible for setting this up in this way and lying to us all. (It's a mystery I feel comes low on the list of things to figure out about). But to whoever the fuck it was:

Keep out of our movement. We don't want your sexism, your categories, your titles, and your assumptions. Keep away – don't dare come in our gay community or we'll knock you down whether you have a prick or not!

The gay community is figuring out a new way to deal with power trips of any name. Gathering around our identity of the woman-identified woman, we will stop dealing with their titles and the assumptions they make; we will fight for women, and love women, and STOP SEPARATING. That's a big part of what lesbianism is about. And this conference was nothing about what lesbianism is about.

-by Pat, in *Lavender Vision*

The gay statement from the Toronto Conference pinpointed the basic reason that the conference was not realistically organized and was not being responsive to the problems of women,i.e. the divisions were artificial and man-made. I would like to expand upon some of the ideas expressed in the statement and relate those ideas to the movement as a whole, the women's movement and the other alleged movements of change.

First of all, what happens in one's mind when one finds out that the person speaking is a lesbian? Immediately, it all seems clear: "Oh of course she talks about a male-defined system, she's gay." "Naturally she hates men, she's a homo." And everything that lesbian expresses after that is colored by the fact that she is a lesbian. Not just colored by the fact, but limited to a very narrow definition of what lesbians can think, what possible political significance to the movement we can have. It is assumed that lesbians can only concern themselves with justifying their "abnormality".

That is not only a bad attitude, it is simply **not true**. Lesbians have a lesbian identity, or a lesbian consciousness. It is from this consciousness that a lesbian perspective comes. And this perspective is just as valid as anyone else's, **whether or not the subject is homosexuality**. Just as it is racist to think that Blacks can only relate to their color, and one only needs to know black revolutionaries to keep up on the latest from the black revolution,it is anti-lesbian to think that lesbians are only good for explaining lesbianism.

At the Toronto conference and within the movement, Lesbians were and are confined to this narrow view that is put on us. We were the lesbian contingent, representing one finite subject. NO!!! Our oppression makes us revolutionaries and so gives us our revolutionary perspective about other oppressed peoples, our LESBIAN revolutionary perspective.

And so how do I relate to anti-imperialism, from my lesbian perspective? Briefly, I see that the imperialism of the U.S. in the rest of the world is possible because the imperialism of men over women was allowed to grow and thrive in our society. It is this imperialism of men, defining what is the culture; it is this imperialism that the MALE power structure has grown from to include entire peoples under its foot. That is why the women's movement must out of necessity be anti-imperialist and therefore anti-war. Because if women work to change our day-to-day existence, to liberate ourselves from the oppression of men, we will be destroying the very roots of imperialism.

Lesbians and so-called straight women must assume self determination. We must see that our struggle is our part in the revolution of all peoples, and that there are no priorities, only different perspectives. Priorities divide us, common causes unite us.

–A St. Louis Sister
from the Toronto Conference

another look

CONFERENCE

At the Women's Conference in Toronto, April 9-12, I experienced an urgency to end the war in Indochina, and the need to build unity within the women's movement. Throughout the four day conference one of the main questions was whether or not these two things conflict whether organizing against the war and imperialism conflicts with building a strong women's movement and feminist consciousness. In this article I want to suggest how different groups of women at the conference related to this issue, and what we learned from the Indochinese women about building unity in a revolutionary movement.

Women's Liberation in Vietnam and Laos

Early in the conference it became clear that there are differences between women's liberation in the United States, which is an advanced industrial society, and the nature of women's struggle in Indochina.

When Indochinese women talk about the importance of enforcing monogamy, for example, those of us in women's liberation who are trying to encourage women to question women's traditional roles in marriage and the family must remember that Indochinese women are coming from a feudal, partiarchal society where polygamy was widely practiced by men. Under French colonialism it was a custom for women to be sold into marriage, and for a husband to have several mistresses in addition to his wife. Women who were not completely loyal and obedient to their husbands were severely punished. In 1960 the government, with the work of the Women's Union (the principal women's organization in Vietnam), passed a Marriage Law which outlawed polygamy and established women's equality with men in the family. Women now have the right to divorce and the right to keep property and their children.

The family is still an important focus of life in Vietnam. The women repeated how the war was breaking up families, and how reunification of families from the North and South depended on the defeat of U.S. imperialism.

The Indochinese women clearly see their struggle as one to defeat the forces of imperialism. They said that women know the deepest suffering of the war because they are the mothers and wives who care most intimately for human life. For them the use of chemical gases and herbicides which destroy crops and cause deformed births is an act of imperialism – destroying the resources for life in their country. The women also spoke about how the war and the destruction of the economy forces women into prostitution to survive. Thus, the oppression of women in Indochina is rooted in the destruction of the country's economy.

Third World Women and Welfare Mothers: Their View of the Conference

Approximately 200 of the women who attended the conference were members of Third World groups, including the Third World Women's alliance, the Young Lords, and the Black Panther Party. Women also attended who represented organizations from the Latin, Asian,Cuban, and Venezualan community.

The first night of the conference there was a cultural event which included some music from the Chicago Women's Liberation rock band, a skit by Chicago Welfare mothers, and several presentations by women from Third World Women's groups. Many women from women's liberation had difficulty relating to the disciplined seriousness of Third World leadership style. At the celebration, just as women were beginning to relax and get high on the music from the women's rock band one sister from the Young Lords announced that the Indochinese sisters would be coming soon and that we should be more serious, sit down and be ready to give them the revolutionary salute. Some of us experienced this style as authoritarian and rigid, and identified it with male organization in the movement. My own response is that it reflects a stronger organization in third world movements which grows out of their sense of urgency.

Throughout the conference there appeared to be a stronger unity among the Third World sisters about the purpose of the conference. In contrast to women from Women's Liberation (WL), Third World women from the U.S. had met prior to the conference and had decided that they were coming to the meetings to "work" on building the anti-imperialist struggle in the United States. For them this specifically means fighting racism and repression. One Black sister from Detroit's Revolutionary Black Workers League said that Third World women had hoped to work with some progressive whites from WL. But since the white women did not seem to be united in their purpose, most of the Third World women decided it was more important to go ahead "with their business and work," and accomplish as much as they could in their sessions with the Indochinese women. Since they felt strong differences with WL, Third World women decided to hold separate workshops with the Indochinese.

Welfare mothers, black and white, from the United States and Canada also felt a different sense of purpose about the conference than the majority of women from WL. Canadian women in a workshop with women from the United States raised the issue of poverty and unemployment, which led to a discussion about the struggle of welfare mothers. In the workshops the Canadian women presented a paper which showed that Canada's economy was extensively controlled (more than 52%) by American corporations. They suggested that the Canadian people are affected by imperialist policies of the U.S. government and economy.

White Welfare Mothers from Toronto's Just Society League described their struggle with Parliament to increase employment and welfare rights. They helped dispel the myths of liberal Canada as a refuge or haven from political repression. One Toronto welfare mother described American imperialism in Canada: "The United States has rented Canada like a summer cottage and forgets to leave." She and other Canadian welfare mothers felt somewhat excluded from the conference and from some of the workshops which Third World women held with the Indochinese. They felt their struggle with poverty and the government was a class struggle similar to that of black welfare mothers from the States. Yet, one of the Toronto Welfare Mothers was turned away from one of the workshops on "Organizing Anti-Imperialist Strategy."

The welfare mothers who felt excluded spoke out of anger, and as they talked with us about the ways they build their organizations we realized the importance of patience, the importance of talking to people about their own day to day oppression, and of struggling to bring people together.

Women's Liberation: Its Relation to Anti-War, Anti-Imperialist Struggles

In contrast to Third World women and welfare women, most of the women from Women's Liberation

→22

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Vol. II, No. 3 *May 28–June 17, 1971*

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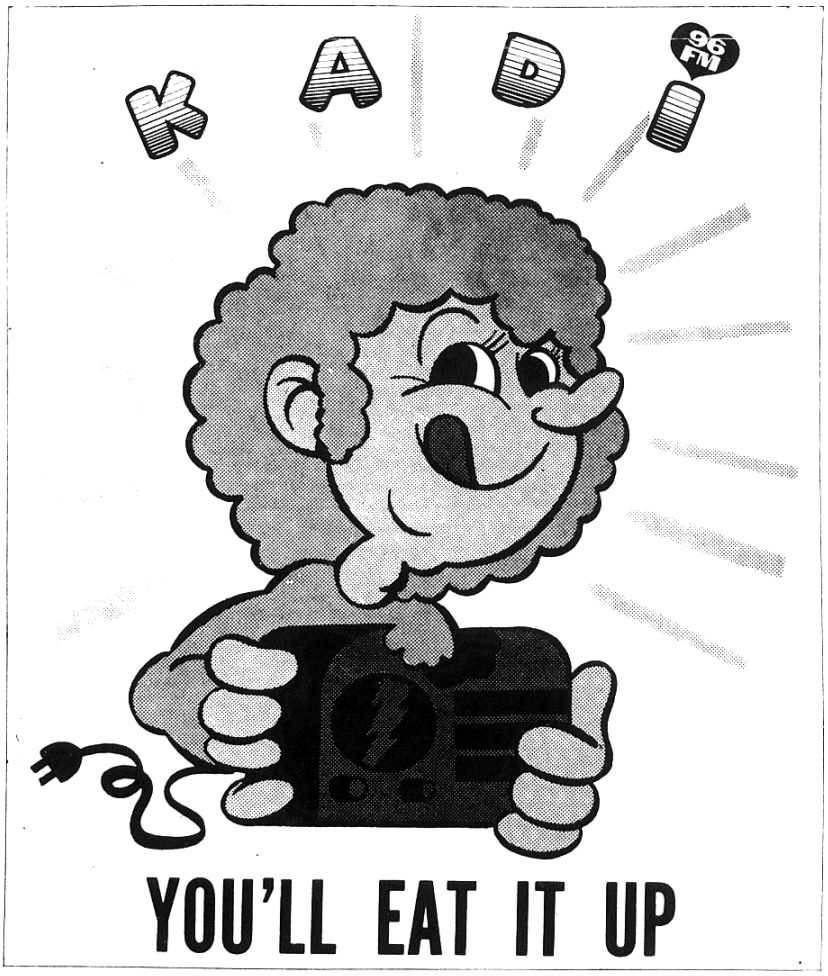

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John

P.S. I'd like to thank the short-blond-haired sister in a VW who warned me.

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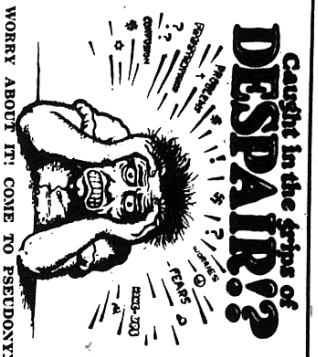

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TORONTO (from page 19)

felt strongly that their oppression originates in the institutions of a male-dominated society. For these women organizing against the Indochina War in the context of the present anti-war movement will not largely affect the liberation of women. For them the war is a product of a sexist society, which means that society's main institutions are created and controlled by men for profit and power rather than for serving the needs of people.

Some women felt very strongly that the women who planned the conference made a distinction between women's liberation and the anti-imperialist women's movement. A group of these women issued a paper called the *Fourth World Manifesto* in January, 1971, which criticizes the way the conference was organized. They felt that women who call themsleves "anti-imperialist women" and call for a conference to develop anti-imperialist consciousness in the women's movement are defining imperialism in a "narrow, left male context." The *Manifesto* criticizes women's collectives "who organize women in relation to priorities set up by the male left" such as anti-war, anti-imperialist issues. According to the Manifesto women are the fourth world, a colonized group in relation to men all over the world. From this view, the historical oppression of the female by the male as the first act of slavery is sufficient evidence to suggest that imperialism is an extension of male supremacy. According to some women, "rape is an imperialist act on the territory of our bodies," and acts of aggression for more territory can be seen as political rape.

Building Unity in the Movement

The disunity among women at the Toronto conference comes from different understandings about why women are oppressed, and about what conditions are necessary for the liberation of women. Gay women at the conference put out a statement which suggests that our disunity came from artificial divisions and categories which have been defined by the male movement, and allowed to come between women. They call for all women to build a powerful sisterhood.

Our struggle to build unity begins with understanding why women disagree about how to achieve their liberation. Is it simply that men have created artificial categories, like Third World, white middle class, anti-imperialist, gay and straight? Or, are these differences rooted in how different women experience their day to day oppression?

The women at the conference did not share a common understanding of who our enemy is. To welfare mothers and some Third World women the enemy is an economic and political system which discriminates against those who are poor and non-white, a system which is more concerned with profit and power than serving the needs of people. For these women organizing means fighting against the institutions in the community like the welfare office or the police, whose policies of racism and repression make day to day life a fight for survival.

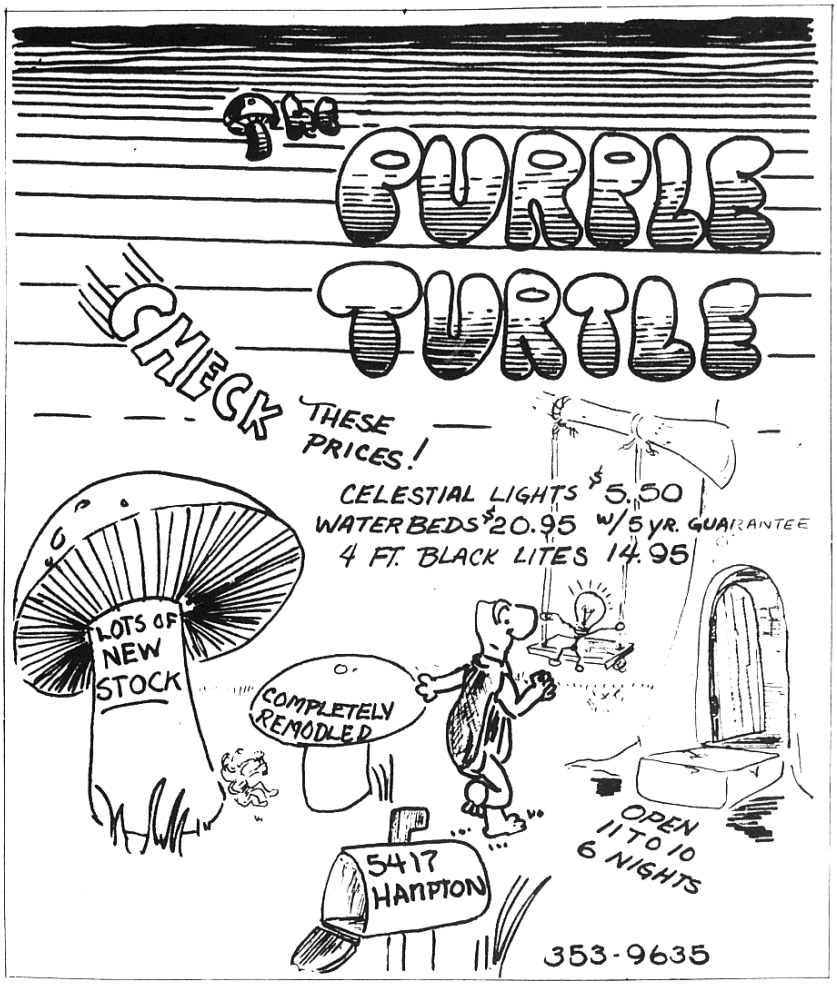
In contrast to this view, women who identify with women's liberation and feminism believe that women's oppression is the main oppression of all societies because patriarchal attitudes dominate all institutions, especially the family. From this view the Indochina war is a product of a society oriented by the power and aggression which are traits of "male culture." Therefore, organizing against the war will not end other kinds of oppression, such as oppression of women. Instead, feminists call for a revolution which will liberate female culture – and which will create a society where personal relationships, caring for others, and collectivity will be the basis of work and social relations.

Women's liberation and feminism grow out of the conditions of advanced industrial society where day to day survival in the face of violence and starvation is not the experience of most women. (The exceptions to this are poor women in Black, Chicano and other non-white communities.) For middle class women oppression may be experienced primarily in psychological, emotional ways – through problems with a husband, a career, or sexuality. Other American women experience that psychological oppression but also the economic discrimination.

What unites all oppressed people is the struggle for self-determination – the right of people to define their needs and to havy the resources to fulfill them. The needs of any group grow out of concrete circumstances, which means that we can meet Indochinese women and other women who struggle daily with poverty and repression by trying to understand oppression the way they experience it. Only then can we begin to create an atmosphere of respect and sensitivity which is the basis for unity.

At the end of the conference I gave one of the Laotian women a button I had worn through many marches and demonstrations. It showed a white dove and a black rifle crossing one another on an olive green background. In black letters: A World to Win. The Laotian woman who spoke and read English said yes, "A world to win. We must build unity" I knew then the importance of building a revolution for the liberation of all people.

–Susan



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1878. Isadora Duncan born.
meeting for women interested in learning legal aid for women; 6675 Washington; 7:30 p.m.
"Under Milkwood" (Dylan Thomas); Performing Arts Center, Forest Park Comm. College; FREE; 8 p.m.

FRIDAY – May 28
Huey Newton (minister of defense, Black Panther Party) on David Frost show; ch. 11; 7:30–9 p.m.
"Under Milkwood"; see 5/27
"The Lower Depths" (Renoir) & original "Dracula"; Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, 386 N. Euclid; $1.25; 8,10,12p.m.

SATURDAY – May 29
"The Lower Depths"; see 5/28
military counseling workshop; call 862-8070

SUNDAY – May 30
1937. striking Republic Steel workers & their families attacked by Chicago police. 10 killed, hundreds wounded.
Vets for Peace, pot-luck dinner (bring food); southwest corner Forest Park; 6 p.m.
music at Pavilion in Forest Park
"The Lower Depths"; see 5/28; 7 & 9p.m.
organ recital; Christ Church Cathedral (13th & Locust); FREE; 4:30 p.m.

MONDAY – May 31
anti-war Memorial Service; Vets for Peace & others; Old Courthouse Park, Market & Chestnut; 3 p.m.
Outlaw criticism meeting; 524 Melville; 7:30 p.m.

TUESDAY – June 1
1843. Sojourner Truth begins her work as an abolitionist.
gay liberation meeting; 600 N. Euclid (Trinity Church); 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAY – June 2
1740. Marquis de Sade born in Paris.
War/Peace Spotlight; KDNA, 102.5 FM; 8 p.m.

THURSDAY – June 3
Vets for Peace meeting; Peace Center, 6244 Delmar; 7:30 p.m.
silent film classics; Cabinet of Dr. Caligari; $.50; continuous from 8 p.m.

FRIDAY – June 4
"Mickey One" plus original "Dr. Jekyll & Mr. Hyde"; Cabinet of Dr. Caligari; $1.25; 8,10,12 p.m.
Elton John; Kiel Auditorium; 8:30 p.m.
"Surrealism: Inner Space"; KETC, ch.9; 7:30 p.m.

SATURDAY – June 5
1878. Pancho Villa born.
Vets for Peace dinner w/national speakers; call 862-5735
"Mickey One"; see 6/4

SUNDAY – June 6
FREE music at Pavilion in Forest Park
"Mickey One"; see 6/4; 7 & 9p.m.
St. Louis String Quartet; lawn outside Graham Chapel, W.U.; FREE; 7:30 p.m.
organ recital; see 5/30; FREE

MONDAY – June 7
1904. striking miners murdered by militia at Cripple Creek
1969. People's Park, Berkeley

TUESDAY – June 8
"Pesticides & Herbicides in Organic Gardening"; 8944 St. Charles Rock Rd. (Comm. Federal); FREE; 8 p.m.
gay liberation meeting; see 6/1

WEDNESDAY – June 9
MC 5; Music Palace; 7:30 p.m.

THURSDAY – June 10
Jesus Christ Superstar; Powell Hall; 8:30 p.
silent film classics; see 6/3

FRIDAY – June 11
1381. peasants led by Wat Tyler march on London.
"Rocco and His Brothers" & 2 short supernatural flicks (1903); Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, 386 N. Euclid; $1.25; 8,10,12 p.m.

SATURDAY – June 12
1917.260 persons die in Butte, Montana as labor fights the bosses.
"Rocco and His Brothers"; see 6/11
Jesus Christ Superstar; Powell Hall; 7 & 10p.m.

SUNDAY – June 13
1966. Provo riots, Amsterdam.
FREE music at Pavilion in Forest Park
"Rocco and His Brothers"; see 6/11; 7 & 9p.m.
St. Louis String Quartet; see 6/6
Jesus Christ Superstar; see 6/10
organ recital; FREE; see 5/30

MONDAY – June 14
1905. battleship Potemkin mutiny.

TUESDAY – June 15
1381. Wat Tyler murdered.
gay liberation meeting; see 6/1

WEDNESDAY – June 16
Yvonne Elliman; Music Palace; 7:30 p.m.

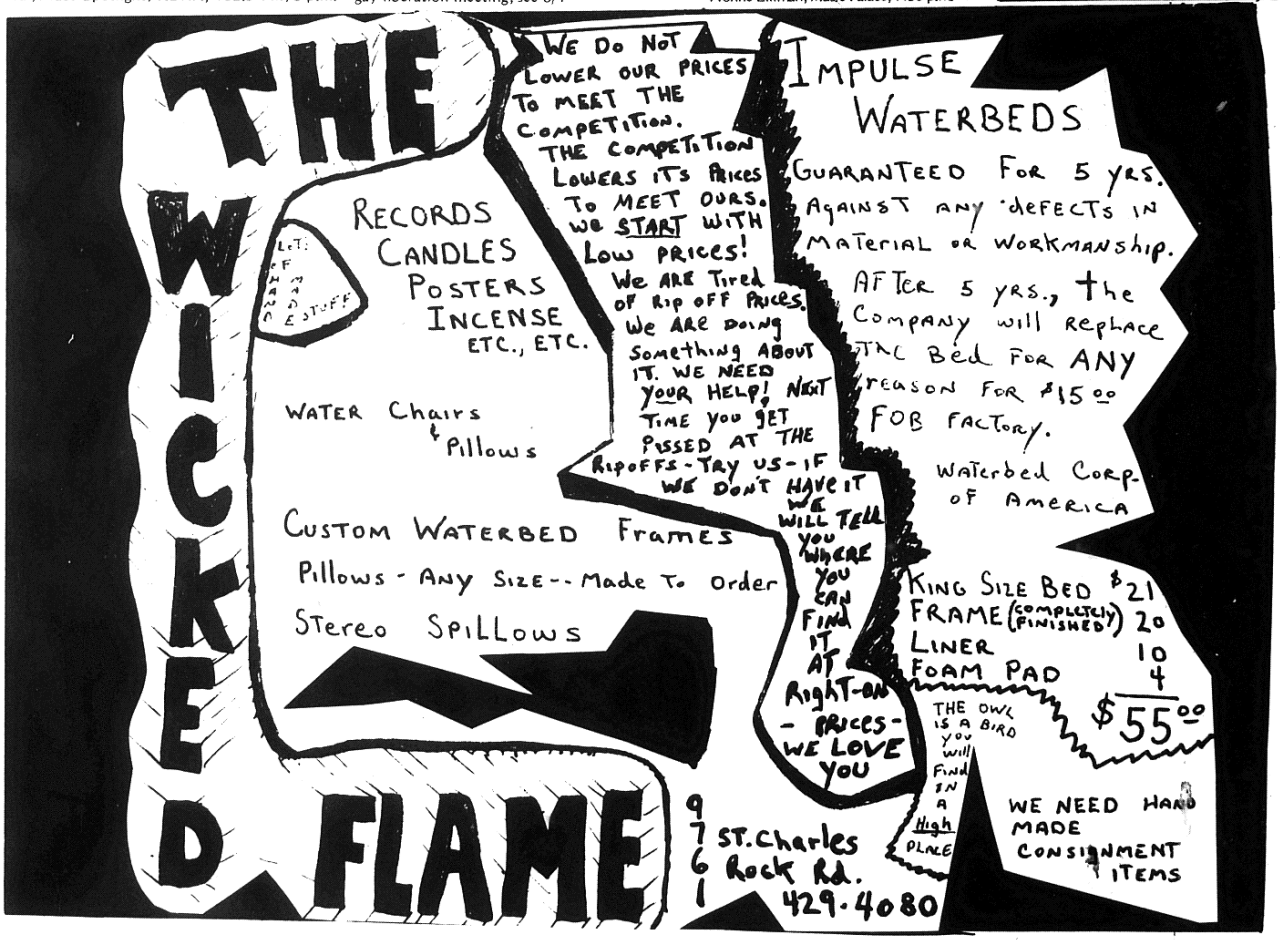
ON GOING EVENTS
Sculpture and Word Poems by Carl Andre; City Art Museum, June 1–27; Tues. 2:30–9:30 p.m., Wed.–Sun. 10–5 p.m.
draft counseling and military counseling training sessions, call AFSC 862-8070
Cabinet of Dr. Caligari (386 N. Euclid) has Astrology classes on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. ($1)
check out the programs on KDNA-FM, 102.5 and KETC-TV, ch. 9

THURSDAY – June 17
1873. Susan B. Anthony goes to jail for attempting to vote.
Vets for Peace meeting; see 6/3
silent film classics; see 6/3
Cat Stevens; Fox Theatre; 7 p.m.

FRIDAY – June 18
1798. first of "Alien & Sedition Acts" passed by Congress.
"Citizen Kane"; Cabinet of Dr. Caligari; $1.25; 8,10,12 p.m.
Berry Park Concert starts!!

phone numbers to know & tell

Abortion Counseling 388-0310
Acid Rescue 645 - 2900
AFSC 862 - 8070
Angela Davis Defense Comm. 534 - 4762
Black Artists Group 535 - 3906
Community Center (Delmar Loop)
Day Care 725 -5302, 862 - 8017
Health Clinic 726 - 5563
Food Co-op 727 - 7326
Coffeehouse 862 - 6621
Enviromental Response 863-0100,ext.4506
High School Liberation Front 389 - 3023
KADI 968 - 1900
KDNA 652 - 2260
KSHE 638 - 4444
Learning Resources Exchange 367-4458
Legal Aid 652 - 9581
Lettuce Boycott 535 - 2720
Military counseling 862 - 8070
National Welfare Rights Org. 421-2579
Newsreel films (913) 842 - 8689
OUTLAW 721 - 3170
Peace Center 862 - 5735, 725 - 3209
Planned Parenthood 361 - 6360
Poison control:Memorial Hospital 865-4000
St. Louis Children's Hospital 867-6880
Suicide prevention 388 - 2000
switchboard 652 - 2260
Vets for Peace 862 - 5735
Welfare Coalition 862 - 6637
Women's Center 231 - 2330
Women's Liberation rap groups 652 - 9993



Tigers seem to have benefitted from the war. In the past 24 years, they have learned to associate the sound of gunfire with the presence of dead and wounded human beings in the vicinity. As a result, tigers rapidly move toward gunfire and apparently consume large numbers of battle casualties.

—— Science Magazine, May 1970

Bombings

Our B-52 bombing of Vietnam has changed rice paddies and forest into a lunar landscape. Each bomb creates a crater as large as 45 feet across and 30 feet deep, rendering this land useless for crops. Though it is theoretically possible to fill these craters, the job would involve moving more than 2.5 billion cubic yards of earth – clearly a monumental job.

Besides killing and maiming, the bombing forces people to leave target areas or live underground. A pediatrician recently returned form Vietnam said that as a consequence of the bombing, "People live underground day and night...children are suffering from a number of disorders new to Vietnam. One is rickets, from living without sunlight."

Birth Defects

In late 1967, after two years of greatly accelerated herbicide application, Saigon newspapers began carrying front-page stories of a new and increasingly common birth defect described as "egg-bundle-like fetus." Some newspapers reported a rise in the incidence of deformed babies in areas that had been sprayed, and questioned whether the defoliation might be causing this. These papers were closed by the Thieu government.

News leaks in October, 1969, forced the National Institutes of Health to release reports demonstrating that Agent Orange contains an exceptionally powerful fetus-deforming chemical. During the time the report was suppressed by our government, millions of pounds of Orange were used in Vietnam.

There Are No More Birds In South Vietnam

ECOLOGY AND INDOCHINA: THE LEGACY OF OUR PRESENCE

The war in Vietnam has two time scales. The OUTLAW has talked a lot about the first: the immediacy of bombs and battles and of instant destruction and death.

Then there is the other timetable, the one [illegible] neglected, perhaps because its results are slower and more hidden. This is the time scale which contains the prolonged suffering and hardship which will face all survivors in Vietnam for generations. When the fighting has finally ended, the suffering will have only begun, for our actions in Vietnam have so severely upset the environment that we have greatly reduced the ability of the land to support its people. The defoliation of vast areas of forest and agricultural land by poisonous herbicides, the deliberate destruction of crops with resulting starvation, malnutrition [illegible] have introduced into Southeast Asia as the legacy of our presence.

United states forces are engaged in two specific programs of environmental destruction. One is the defoliation program, nicknamed Operation Ranch Hand, in which chemical substances that remove leaves (defoliants) are sprayed onto plants from the air. The other program uses herbicides to destroy croplands in order to deny food to soldiers and civilians in areas controlled by the National Liberation Front.

Defoliation and Crop Destruction

Over 12 percent of South Vietnam has been sprayed with one of three defoliating chemicals, known by the names Orange, White and Blue. Agent Orange, until recently the most widely used in Vietnam, [illegible] mainly against trees. Mangrove, [illegible] important plant found along [illegible] banks, can be severely damaged; one application of Orange usually kills most of the trees. Areas of this kind sprayed as early as 1961 still have shown no significant recovery.

Agent White is primarily used near populated areas because it is less likely to drift off target. White is, however, soluble in water and as a [illegible] into nearby croplands and forests by the [illegible] rains. Its major chemical (Picloram) has been likened to DDT, because it does not break down into inactive substances. Tropical test areas in Puerto Rico which were sprayed with White have remained bare of leaves for more than two years. The government has not licensed Picloram for use in the cultivation of a single American crop, apparently because its activity varies with climate and soil so unpredictably that no reasonable margin of safety can be guaranteed. Nevertheless, White has been used for years in Vietnam.

Agent Blue is most harmful to grasses and is used mainly to destroy rice crops. A major chemical in it is 54% arsenic. Because arsenic poisoning of humans can occur by gradual accumulation of small doses until lethal levels are reached, the use of Blue may pose long-term danger. We may save the Vietnamese by poisoning them.

Starvation as a Weapon of War

The U.S. Army justifies agricultural and ecological destruction in Vietnam for three major tactical reasons: to deny food to civilians and soldiers in "Viet-Cong held areas" under the "resource denial" program; to prevent ambushes along heavily forested roads and waterways; and to aid in visual reconnaissance of NLF base camps and supply routes by eliminating the forest which hides them.

The idea behind the "resource denial" program is that the resulting starvation will so demoralize the NLF troops that they will surrender. However, previous wars have shown that when food is in short supply, fighting troops are the first to be fed; what is left is then rationed to civilians. Among these, the most severely affected are children, the elderly, and pregnant women. During the siege of Leningrad, for example, soldiers received 800 grams or more of bread per day while civilians starved on 200 grams per day. The NLF remains an effective fighting force, but the incidence of civilian starvation and starvation-related diseases is rising in the central highlands of Vietnam where extensive crop destruction has occurred.

Fire and Shrapnel

Fires, some deliberately set and others touched off by artillery and bombing, are a major cause of forest destruction in Vietnam. More than 40% of the pine and an undetermined amount of hardwood forest have recently been destroyed.

Shrapnel is imbedded in trees, and already sawmills lose from one to three hours each day repairing saw blades damaged by shrapnel in the logs. The economically [illegible] timber industry will be affected by shrapnel [illegible] these forests are regrown.

[illegible] the head of the military operation known as "Ranch Hand", reports that the motto of the Aerial Spray Flight of the [illegible]th Aerial Commando Squadron is, "ONLY WE CAN PREVENT FORESTS."

——S.M. Hersh, Chemical & Biological Warfare

The "res[illegible]" program also wages war against unborn Vietnamese. As a result of two [illegible] malnutrition and starvation experienced by the [illegible] people, [illegible] of ten children were deformed. The [illegible] public health ministry refuses to provide any statistics on normal and abnormal births, so evidence indicating the extent of birth defects in Vietnamese children is not available. However, malnutrition is widespread in the countryside and in refugee camps, so the potential for such abnormalities certainly exists.

Social Destruction

Ecological damage cannot be separated from other kinds of harm. The policies of the U.S. military are destroying the Vietnamese culture and social organization. The military is transforming a basically rural agrarian society into an urban nightmare which is economically dependent on the continued presence of the United States. America and its allies have forcibly transported people from hamlets into refugee camps located near cities, and have driven many more off their ancestral lands by bombing and defoliation. The extremely rapid influx into the cities and surrounding camps has created massive problems in housing, feeding and providing medical care for the refugees.

Long Term Effects

Our war in Indochina will have long-term effects on the land as well as on the social structure of society. For instance, insects, bats and birds are [illegible] important in pollinating the plants of tropical forests. Defoliation means an [illegible] such animals.

Also, through massive defoliation nutrients normally [illegible] land becomes less fertile, and new species, such as giant bamboo, take over [illegible]. Once established, bamboo forms an impenetrable thicket which prevents normal forest regeneration and makes future use of the land for agriculture nearly impossible. This bamboo is very resistant to defoliants, and because it reproduces from tough underground stems, it cannot be eliminated by burning or cutting once it is established.

Along lowland rivers and waterways in the tropics, rich forests grade into pure stands of mangrove trees. These trees are important in the life cycles of economically important fish and shellfish. The intensive defoliation program [illegible] waterways in Vietnam has killed [illegible] this living border. There will undoubtedly be drastic and longlasting effects upon river fishing.

American troops were sent to Southeast Asia, we are told, to protect the interests of the Vietnamese people. The same line of argument says that the destruction of the Vietnamese and their environment is unfortunate, but necessary to protect the lives of American troops in wartime. Thus entwined by circular reasoning, our government claims to aid a country and its people by destroying both.

All of the military actions described above are continuing, and there is no reason to believe they will cease during the time that any gradual withdrawal or "Vietnamization" is attempted. We will continue to supply Saigon with the tools necessary to pursue the war according to the precedents we have set.

The devastation we have already caused is a monstrous legacy for those we call our friends. The environment, the social organization, the very future of Vietnam have been so severely mortgaged by action supposedly on behalf of her people that complete and immediate cessation of all war there is clearly the most effective aid we can now give.

—Adapted from a study by the Stanford Biology Study Group